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ABSTRACT

The conference papers presented in this volume focus on the urban minority experience with regard to race, ethnic issues, and ethnic studies programs. The papers which deal with ethnic studies programs address such topics as American Indian Studies, Eurocentric bias in Western studies of Asia, black student alienation at small liberal arts colleges, continuing education programs for social workers, bilingual/bicultural education, innovative models for desegregation, and African Studies curricula. The papers which deal with race and ethnic issues address such topics as ethnicity and pluralism, the urban experience of Italian-Americans, the deportation of Mexicans from East Chicago in 1932, Mexican-American stereotypes, racism and Indian policy in North Carolina, and the increase in urbanization of blacks and the expansion of black participation in nationally based voluntary associations. (Author/EB)

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SELECTED PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

4TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON MINORITY STUDIES

APRIL 1976

THE URBAN MINORITY EXPERIENCE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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EDUCATION

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
PART I ETHNIC STUDIES PROGRAMS	
AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES FROM AN ACADEMIC PERSPECTIVE: A POSITION PAPER	7
David J. Mathieu and Ray Howe	
TEACHING ASIAN STUDIES: REFLECTIONS ON THE PEDAGOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF TEACHING ABOUT THE CHINESE REVOLUTION	13
Sucheng Chan	
ALIENATION AMONG BLACK STUDENTS AT SMALL LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGES	27
David P. Claerbaut	
REFLECTIONS ON FIVE CONTINUING EDUCATION PROGRAMS ON RACE AND SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE	41
Pauline R. Coggs and Betty S. Johnson	
BILINGUAL BICULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES: A SECOND CHANCE	49
Laura S. Johnson	
DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS IN THE MULTI-RACIAL CITY	61
W. L. Moore, John H. Smith, and Alfonzo Thurman	
AFRICA IS NOT A JUNGLE	87
Lewis J. Greenstein	
PART II RACE AND ETHNIC ISSUES	
COALITION OR CONFLICT AMONG URBAN BLACKS AND ETHNICS: A MODEL FOR ANALYSIS	97
James H. Stewart	
THE ITALIAN-AMERICAN URBAN EXPERIENCE	107
Frank J. Cavaoli	
THE MEXICAN MENACE, EAST CHICAGO, INDIANA, 1932	119
Ciro Sepulveda	
MEXICAN AMERICAN ORGANIZATION IN NEW MEXICO AND TEXAS: AN URBAN EXPERIENCE IN THE 1950'S	127
Carl Allsup	
RACISM AND INDIAN POLICIES IN NORTH CAROLINA	137
Waltz Maynor	
URBANISM, VOLUNTARISM, AND AFRO-AMERICAN ACTIVISM	145
James N. Kerri	

INTRODUCTION

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The highlight theme for the 4th Annual Conference on Minority Studies was "Multi-Racial Cities: The Perspective of 200 Years of Racism and Liberation."

The circumstances of minority groups in urban areas have not been the same historically or in recent times. The value of comparative analysis of urban experiences has only recently been recognized. The kind of pertinent questions that need to be raised has not been agreed upon, but clearly the city has different meanings for the Native American and the Black American. Yet the ghetto and the *barrio* certainly have provided some commonality of experiences for the Chicano and the Black. Further, the problems of the city have not meant the same thing for the main racial minority groups or for white ethnic groups. The present volume begins to illuminate some of the above issues. The volume presents Conference papers focusing on the urban minority experience with particular regard to race, ethnic issues, and ethnic studies programs in the urban context.

In the opening article, David J. Mathieu and Ray Howe criticize the hodgepodge of programs labeled American Indian Studies and propose a theoretical foundation based upon the traditional Lakota approach to knowledge, which seeks to understand all that influences a problem or phenomenon and recognizes the inter-relatedness of the universe. In the authors' view, the resources of many academic disciplines must be used to create a new holistic synthesis rather than an interdisciplinary perspective. Only such a holistic approach can provide the broad perspective needed to formulate relevant questions regarding the totality of American Indian experience, including the urban, in United States society.

Sucheng Chan's paper points to the Eurocentric bias in many Western studies of Asia. In reviewing the scholarship of the Chinese Revolution, it becomes evident that the theories and definitions applied by Western scholars are based on Western rather than Asian experience. Western scholars tend to view revolution as an event, whereas the Chinese view it as a process. It is of utmost importance to understand the categories and concepts that the Chinese themselves use to analyze their own history. Chan argues that the Third World perspective and Marxist theory, as adapted by the Chinese, are valid approaches for studying not only the Chinese Revolution, but also the historical development of other Asian societies.

Results of a study on alienation among Black students at small liberal arts colleges are presented by David P. Claerbaut. An initial general profile of the Black student emerges as one who seems fairly well-adjusted socially, has an awareness of the sociopolitical environment, and feels in control of his own fate. Nevertheless, he views the norms of society as forces which inhibit rather than facilitate opportunities for personal success. The evidence suggests that alienation does indeed exist among certain groups of Black students at small colleges. Claerbaut proposes some realistic steps that can be taken to reduce alienation and create a more multicultural environment.

Pauline R. Coggs and Betty S. Johnson report on University of Wisconsin Extension continuing education programs designed to sensitize social work professionals to problems of racism in social welfare institutions and to encourage social workers to act as social change agents. These programs may suggest avenues of approach to other groups of professionals interested in dealing with racism.

Laura S. Johnson argues that bilingual bicultural education is a necessity in a multicultural society in order to develop understanding and respect for cultural differences. She points to a successful program for Vietnamese children in Chicago to demonstrate the growing awareness of and support for bilingual bicultural education.

An innovative model for planning, design, and management of desegregation of schools and communities is presented by W. L. Moore, John H. Smith, and Alfonso Thurman. Using a human cultural and ethnic factors and systems approach, they outline a plan for reducing conflicts between groups and a method for mediating disputes in school-community desegregation efforts. The plan represents a departure from the usual preoccupation with ratios and ethnic mixtures in efforts to achieve racial balance in schools. Rather, the proposal calls for desegregation programs based on human performance capabilities in learning, development, and adjustment. It promotes culturally based community resources education and points the way to positive ethnic relations in multiracial cities of the future.

Lewis J. Greenstein assesses African studies curricula and concludes that, in spite of renewed academic interest and fresh approaches by scholars, little progress has been made in teaching about Africa in the elementary and secondary classroom. The college student must be introduced to material he should have encountered on a lower level but did not. He suggests resources and materials which are useful for countering the prevailing myths and generalizations about Africa.

Part II of the volume opens with a provocative article on the reawakening of white ethnic Americans on a cultural and social level and its implications for urban politics. James H. Stewart contends that the "melting pot" process did not succeed in destroying ethnic diversity and that we are currently witnessing a revival of pluralism and ethnic self-consciousness. He uses a power relations model as a conceptual framework for investigating the new pluralism. His analysis deals with such issues as current perspectives on ethnicity, the relationship of ethnicity to social class, and factors accounting for the reawakening of ethnic consciousness.

Frank J. Cavaioni discusses the urban experience of a particular ethnic group--the Italian-Americans. He explores the reasons why they have been primarily an urban rather than rural population and how a high degree of ethnic self-consciousness has been maintained through three generations despite successful adaptation to United States society. Family, neighborhood, and the Catholic Church are considered to be the most important influences in developing a strong sense of ethnic identity.

The circumstances surrounding the deportation of Mexicanos from East Chicago to Mexico in 1932 are investigated by Ciro Sepulveda. This repatriation of Mexican workers and their families, including children who were United States citizens, resulted from a plan devised by the local American Legion and the Emergency Relief Association with cooperation from big business. It was viewed as the most attractive "solution" to relief problems caused by the tremendous

unemployment rate at the height of the Depression. In order to give the impression that the removal was not a deportation, contact was made with the Mexican government which was supposedly in dire need of labor. This tragic example of "blaming the victim" is not an isolated incident, nor is it the only time that Mexicans have been viewed as a "menace" to society, as is apparent in the current deportations of undocumented Mexican workers.

The stereotype of the apathetic, docile Mexican-American is countered in Carl Allsup's paper on the development of the G.I. Forum in Texas and New Mexico in the late 1940's and 1950's. The G.I. Forum developed as a direct response to discrimination faced by Mexican-American veterans after they had served in the United States Armed Forces during World War II. Forum members were successful in organizing people, programs, and issues. Their strength rested in unity and determination. They did not worry about assimilation, accommodation, or middle-class values, but rather focused on achieving health care for veterans, quality education, fair employment, labor rights, and political influence. The Forum served as a precedent for the Chicano movement that emerged in the 1960's.

Waltz Maynor's paper on racism and Indian policy in North Carolina demonstrates historically that policies have been designed in the United States to dissipate Indians as a group. He traces the development of Indian policy from the early days of the nation to the Indian Removal Acts of the 1880's to the Indian Termination Policy of the 1950's, using North Carolina as the example and illustration of the results of such policies.

In the concluding essay, James N. Kerri analyzes the increase in urbanization of Blacks and the expansion of Black participation in nationally based voluntary associations. He concludes that Black voluntary association membership and participation are a response to racial discrimination, economic deprivation, and moral abuse, and it is only when viewed in this context that Black urban activities can be properly understood.

The selections provided here represent a sampling of the many papers presented at the Conference dealing with the urban minority and ethnic experience. The authors provide a variety of insights into the serious dilemmas which challenge multicultural cities now and in the future. A second volume of proceedings from the 4th Annual Conference will present a selection of papers dealing with minority literature and the urban experience.

The editors wish to acknowledge the efforts of the many people who contributed to the success of the 4th Annual Conference. The encouragement and financial support of the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse administration is greatly appreciated. Chancellor Kenneth E. Lindner has earned special recognition for his active and continuous support for the series of Conferences which began in 1973. Finally, the editors thank the many participants whose interest in the Conference has grown and flourished and whose contributions have provoked lively discussion and debate.

PART I

ETHNIC STUDIES PROGRAMS

AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES FROM AN ACADEMIC PERSPECTIVE: A POSITION PAPER

DAVID J. MATHIEU AND RAY HOWE
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American Indian Studies as a concept has been in existence for several years, but only in the last few years has the idea crystallized into course offerings. Many institutions have recently founded, or are currently in the process of founding, American Indian Studies programs. These programs have largely begun in reaction to the demands of Indian students who recognized a political and educational need for renewed academic study of Indian-related materials. The Indian students had the support of many interested white people who had only recently discovered the reality of Indian cultural persistence and the need for Indian awareness on a national level.

Most often, however, the creation of American Indian Studies programs was a form of willing, but unconvinced, response. In the majority of cases, the administrators and faculty members of these institutions viewed these programs as something less than viable academic programs and more as appeasements to Indian demands, or as ways of attracting additional outside monies to their institutions. The result has been a hodgepodge of different Indian programs, all labeled American Indian Studies. Often the program may only provide student support services or may be only a repackaging of existing courses on Indian people utilizing the existing instructional staff.

It is obvious that this situation reflects a lack of academic respect for the concept of American Indian Studies. Such a situation cannot be allowed to exist if American Indian Studies is to continue into the indefinite future.

This is not, however, just the fault of the academic world. We, who are involved in American Indian Studies programs, have not built a strong academic foundation from which we might build viable programs. Until we build such a foundation, all American Indian Studies programs will be in precarious positions within non-Indian institutions.

We have not been able to build such a foundation primarily because of the lack of time. American Indian Studies programs were forced to address immediate issues and needs in the local and national Indian community. In this respect, American Indian Studies programs have been very successful. National awareness has been increased and academic interest has been aroused. This initial phase, however, must not be allowed to continue indefinitely. If American Indian Studies programs are to maintain a position from which they will be able to assist Indian communities, a foundation must be laid. It is now time to sit back and consider what has been and what will be the direction in which American Indian Studies programs will move.

In order to provide an academic foundation, we must define American Indian Studies and justify its existence. Perhaps we may be able to begin this process by looking at the traditional Lakota approach to knowledge. As related in *Black Elk Speaks*, the Oglala Holy Man, Black Elk, describes his great vision when he is taken to the "center of the world": "And while I stood there I saw more than I can tell and I understood more than I saw; for I was seeing in a sacred manner the shapes of all things in the spirit, and the shape of all shapes as they must live together like one being."¹

The goal of the Lakota people in their search for knowledge was to gain the wisdom necessary to stand in the "center of creation." Not the center, in terms of man being the center of the universe, but rather to stand in the center meant to stand in harmony to all that existed and in particular to all that influenced the lives of the Lakota people.

The Lakota method of seeking knowledge, then, is not to attempt to find specific answers to specific questions. The Lakota method seeks to understand all that influences a problem and the interrelatedness of these factors. Such an understanding will provide meaningful answers. "It is not important to know why the bird flies south. It is important to know the bird and its relationship to all that is in time and space."² From this knowledge, the answer to the original question will make itself known.

The concept of American Indian Studies utilizes a similar approach to knowledge. American Indian Studies attempts to deal with the Indian experience in a holistic manner. Using the various traditional academic disciplines as resources, American Indian Studies synthesizes the viewpoints of many disciplines into a resulting new perspective. This new, holistic perspective results in a viable program which has as its goal the training of people in the American Indian Studies method of dealing with issues important to the lives of Indian people. This notion of American Indian Studies, then, positively reflects the traditional Lakota view or approach to meaningful knowledge.

The term "interdisciplinary" has often been used to describe American Indian Studies programs. Given the above definition of the American Indian Studies approach, however, such a term does not constitute an adequate description. Interdisciplinary implies the gathering of information from several different sources. American Indian Studies, however, moves beyond this point. It synthesizes the materials into a new perspective that cannot be obtained within a single discipline. Perhaps we might label American Indian Studies a "supra-disciplinary study," which implies that it is a branch of knowledge or a course of study which is much more than a sum of its parts.

It can be said that Indian people have been researched to death. Yet, after 400 years of research, Indian people still face many of the same kinds of problems that they faced generations before. And white people, who feel it necessary to provide the leadership in solving Indian problems, are still totally unable to

¹John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), p. 43.

²Gerald M. Clifford, *Indian Community Controlled Schools: A Position Paper*, 1973, p. 37n.

find answers to the "Indian problem."

In the past, white educators and legislators have attempted to solve complex problems with simple solutions. Today's academic minds view complex problems within the context of their own narrow academic training. It appears that the traditional disciplines have compartmentalized themselves in such a way that they must define a problem into their own terms and their own perspectives. Such an approach is doomed to failure when applied to Indian concerns.

Any aspect of the modern Indian experience cannot be disassociated from the totality of the Indian experience if meaningful answers are to be found. As an example, to believe that an economic concern can be solved in purely economic terms is to believe in the unbelievable. Such a problem must also consider the history, politics, sociology, anthropology, and psychology of the Indian experience. One must look at the interrelatedness of all aspects influencing an event, personality, or situation.

It is possible to defend the above definition of American Indian Studies by looking into other academic disciplines. The academic roots of American Indian Studies are deep, yet are seldom recognized. They are similar to those of other disciplines.

Some scholars have noted that to pose a problem is the beginning and end of all history and of all scholarship. Where there are no problems, there is no history; only narratives and compilations. Further, anywhere a new system can discover new problems or issues, that system is justified.

Applying this premise to the study of Indian affairs, several questions must be asked: Can the established disciplines adequately deal with all the problems in the scholarly research of Indian-related materials? Have those disciplines formulated all the questions that need to be asked? Of course, there can be only one answer--one can only assume that questions remain to be formulated, expressed, and answered. If not, then education, in general, has reached its logical conclusion. If one accepts this premise, then American Indian Studies can be justified.

Perhaps many would suggest that this is not sufficient justification and that more is needed. Yet, why were the older disciplines first established? They were created because there were problems being posed that were not being answered by the existing academic structure, just as in contemporary Indian affairs.

Many scholars from those disciplines that fall within the range of American Indian Studies have described American Indian Studies programs as teaching students many ways of looking unskillfully or semiskillfully at the same subject matter. Perhaps there is some truth to this assertion, but is it not much the same as when these scholars say that the questions being answered by American Indian Studies could be dealt with by existing disciplines?

Looking at many areas of subject matter from only one point of view has many obvious limitations. But really, these scholars are displaying a lack of understanding of what we are speaking of. No one seriously enters American Indian Studies programs with the intention of gaining superficial knowledge of as many topics as possible. Just as in any other discipline, the student of American Indian Studies may concentrate in one or several areas, but all areas require a

synthesis of material that cannot be obtained in other disciplines.

Other scholars have stated that no American Indian Studies program can be developed until more research has been done in the field. Yet a tremendous amount of research has already been done. Although most is probably not of an interdisciplinary nature, a great deal is, but has just not been labeled as such. That which is of a single-discipline nature can be synthesized into materials suitable for American Indian Studies. After all, the basic materials of all interdisciplinary studies are themselves the results of study within a single discipline. All they lack is the final step, synthesis. No interdisciplinary scholar can rightly say that American Indian Studies materials must be initially researched from an interdisciplinary approach. The materials can be integrated from single-concern studies.

If people say research must come before the program, they are saying that we must do the research before we have the means to carry out true interdisciplinary research. Apparently, the sole occupation of academic programs in the minds of many people is that of relaying information from teacher to student. Are we to teach the results of research and not the methods with which to do research?

At some institutions, American Indian Studies programs will not be established until all necessary research has been done. When this point arrives, however, the need for an American Indian Studies program will have passed. The point is that to do the research necessary to provide answers to the new problems being posed, an American Indian Studies program must be instituted to provide training in the synthesis of existing research, to provide instruction in approaches to interdisciplinary research, and, in general, provide the stimulus required to shift our way of thinking and researching from the singular to the holistic.

Scholars have also stated that such synthesis of materials is emerging as the various disciplines, they say, are moving toward a common center. Certainly, this redirection of disciplinary thought could be accomplished much more readily and effectively if stimulated by the external pressure of an interdisciplinary American Indian Studies program.

If a tendency does exist for these disciplines to move toward a common point, then one would think that scholars would like to have the desired point defined so that the various programs could work together toward that commonality with greater facility. If the creation of the Center of Indian Studies at Black Hills State College had been delayed, little progress would have been made in the study of American Indian affairs in the service area of Black Hills State College. It was the creation of such a program that has brought together the expertise, the materials, and the goals which have given continuity to the research. The study of Indian materials in the United States has been a collection of scattered, hit-or-miss attempts at the subject with nowhere to go for criticism.

In addition to theoretical justifications for American Indian Studies, one must also consider the merits of American Indian Studies for the student. For the students in the service of Black Hills State College, American Indian Studies programs have much obvious value. Some exposure to the values, history, attitudes, and concerns of this area's largest minority would seem desirable. A course of study which originated from a perspective different from that of the norm provides the student with an opportunity for critical or evaluative thinking. American

Indian Studies can also provide valuable insights into aspects of non-Indian cultures. There appears to be little reason to argue against the inclusion of American Indian Studies coursework into the general requirements curriculum.

If a holistic view of the reality of the American Indian experience is desirable, the logical chain of events would lead to the creation of American Indian Studies programs, which would then generate the motivation necessary for supradisciplinary research and instruction to be carried out. In operation, then, the American Indian Studies program becomes a fundamental part of the method, with synthesis of thought and research as the goal.

In light of the above discussion, it is clear that American Indian Studies are deserving of academic respect. It is also clear that American Indian Studies are designed to benefit non-Indian students as well as Indian students. Lastly, it is clear that an American Indian Studies program must have strong academic foundations.

Given the above, any specialized programs or services must be considered as outgrowths of the academic institutional foundations that American Indian Studies provide. To remain strong, these programs and services must have a strong institutional foundation. These specialized concerns, however, lose none of their importance in this construct.

We believe that such a formula will help to legitimize American Indian Studies in the eyes of the academic world. From a solid base, then, American Indian Studies programs at Black Hills State College and across the nation will be able to provide meaningful assistance to American Indian communities.

TEACHING ASIAN STUDIES: REFLECTIONS ON THE PEDAGOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF TEACHING ABOUT THE CHINESE REVOLUTION*

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Scholars and teachers of Asian Studies all know that four centuries of European colonial activities in Asia have left an indelible mark upon the social, political, economic, and cultural structures and processes of Asian societies. Less readily admitted, however, is the fact that European dominance of Asia has also affected the scholarly studies of Asia from the early days of "Oriental Studies" down to the current obsession with value-free social science methodologies of comparative analysis.

While it is true that some of the more sensitive students of Asia have always been aware of an Euro-centric bias in Western studies of Asia, the question of perspective in Western studies of non-Western peoples has never been a burning issue. It is only in the last ten years or so that scholars and teachers of Asian Studies have begun to question the entire analytical framework and underlying assumptions of the field. For the most part, two distinct groups have tried to tackle the question. One group consists of younger, radical (mostly white) Asianists who have been challenging the prevailing "ideology of scholarship." Their concern grew out of the anti-war activism during the late 1960's.¹ More recently, another group of younger scholars who teach the Asian American component of Ethnic Studies have also been trying to challenge what they see as an inherent racism in the bulk of scholarly works on non-white peoples both in the latter's homelands and in the United States. This second group of scholars is almost entirely of Asian ancestry.²

*This paper was written prior to the death of Mao Tsetung. No changes have been made in the text to comment on the significance of events in post-Mao China.

¹The Statement of Purpose of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars states that, "We first came together in opposition to the brutal aggression of the United States in Vietnam and to the complicity or silence of our profession with regard to that policy. Those in the field of Asian studies bear responsibility for the consequences of their research and the political posture of their profession. . . . The CCAS wishes to create alternatives to the prevailing trends in scholarship on Asia which too often spring from a parochial cultural perspective and serve selfish interests and expansionism . . . " (passed 1969, Boston). Many other groups doing "anti-imperialist" research on Asia now exist.

²While the main concern of Asian American Studies, academically speaking, is the study of the historical experiences and current situations of Asians in America, we have found that it is impossible to reach a deep understanding of the treatment received by Asian minorities in the United States without examining the historical development of Asian societies in the last century and the foreign relations between the United States and various Asian nations. As the United States was a "late-comer" to the Asian international political scene, the parameters for

Back in 1937, Jacob van Leur, one of the most astute observers of Indonesian society, pondered the question of what "historical categories" to use when analyzing Southeast Asian history and society. He said, "Categories such as nobility, village, bureaucratic central authority, town, bourgeoisie, handicrafts, prebend, church, need to be given another content if they are to be used. . . . A system of categories of its own, built up with the available historical factual material, is a chief requirement for a correct view of Indonesian history."³

Thirty years later, Barrington Moore, Jr., echoed van Leur's concerns when he wrote, ". . . such words as democracy, fascism, and communism (and also dictatorship, totalitarianism, feudalism, bureaucracy) arose in the context of European history. Can they be applied to Asian political institutions without being wrenched beyond all recognition?"⁴ In answering his own question, Moore stated that, "Objective criteria . . . do exist for distinguishing between superficial and meaningful historical resemblances. . . . Superficial and accidental resemblances are those unconnected with other significant facts or that lead to a misapprehension of the real situation. . . . On the other hand, if we find . . . there was a whole series of causally related institutional practices whose structure and origins are similar, we are justified in calling this complex unit by the [same] name. . . ." ⁵

In the still poorly defined field of comparative analysis in the various social sciences, however, no definitive yardstick has yet been created which would serve as a guide to the dilemma of when one has reached the requisite degree of comparability. Moreover, what constitutes "facts" is influenced by the concepts or theories we use to organize and analyze the facts. In other words, facts and theories mutually influence each other. Regardless of how sophisticated a research methodology one uses, the reliability of information is always still an open question. No matter how carefully and "scientifically" one goes about making one's observations, it is difficult to get around the dilemma that the so-called scientific method itself is "an orientation to the empirical world."⁶ Because it is only an orientation, or an approach to compiling data and building up knowledge, the scientific method itself is subject to critical analysis. That is why there is a whole field of studies known as the philosophy of science.

Given the inescapable obstacles to finding "truth" in social analysis, the question of perspective becomes significant. In art, perspective refers to the

American activities in Asia were partly set by what the European colonial powers had done in Asia for the preceding three centuries. Thus, we must delve into European colonial history as well. The sociology of knowledge in Asian Studies is complex indeed.

³Jacob van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society* (The Hague and Bandung, 1955), pp. 151-52.

⁴Barrington Moore, Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston, 1966), p. 160.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 160-61.

⁶Sanford Labovitz and Robert Hagedorn, *Introduction to Social Research* (New York, 1971), p. 2.

attempt by the artist to depict three-dimensional depth and distance on a two-dimensional surface. When we talk about perspective as an epistemological problem, we refer to the word's two other meanings. One meaning refers to the question of through whose eyes, or over whose shoulder, a person looks at the world; the other refers to the proportional importance given to the different component parts of a particular set of phenomena.

In recent years, the term "Third World" has been used with increasing frequency. As a corollary of the term's usage, one also hears increasingly of something called a "Third World perspective." According to the two meanings of perspective mentioned above, a Third World perspective refers, first of all, to the attempt to study, interpret, and analyze the history of Third World peoples--or world history, as a matter of fact--from the vantage point of Third World peoples. Immediately, however, one is led to ask: "But is there such a thing? Moreover, can we include all the myriad experiences of all self-proclaimed Third World peoples into a single perspective?" On the one hand, many non-Third World scholars assert categorically that there is no such thing as the Third World, and these same persons doubt that many of the so-called Third World nations are even nations in the true sense of the word. On the other hand, Third World scholars and leaders, and some of their sympathizers, continue to use the term because they realize that the very usage of the term serves to create the desired Third World consciousness. My personal opinion is that there are enough commonalities in the historical experiences of African, Asian, Latin American peoples, and the relatively small numbers of their descendants who reside in the United States or other predominantly white societies, to justify the usage of the term. Our commonality is not based on cultural or racial similarities; rather, our commonality arises from the history of exploitation which each Third World group has suffered during the epoch of world history which has been characterized by Western supremacy.

In brief, the term Third World has both a forward-looking and a backward-looking element. The forward-looking element inheres in the fact that, politically, certain groups of Third World peoples are trying to develop and raise their consciousness for the sake of liberating themselves from domination. Thus, the term Third World is a slogan to rally people to a program of common action against those who have been identified as their common oppressors. The backward-looking element refers to the fact that in spite of many differences in our history, some kind of common thread, or pattern of development, can be discerned which took centuries to evolve. It is only when one looks beneath the surface, examines events through the passage of time, that one can begin to discern those "casually related institutional practices" which Barrington Moore delineated as meaningful historical resemblances.

Thus, inherent in a Third World perspective is an awareness that certain groups have a history of being exploited. It does not matter that the form, degree, and results of the exploitation that different groups have suffered have superficially not been the same. What makes Third World exploitation different from the exploitation suffered by the lower classes in European society is the existence of racism. Racism is used both as an ideology to rationalize and justify the subjugation of peoples of color and as a set of sophisticated institutional mechanisms to perpetuate the status of subordination. The racial barrier, theoretically, is one which is much harder to cross than the class barrier,

because there is nothing which one can do to completely alter one's biological and physical characteristics.

Despite the emphasis on our history of exploitation, however, it would be wrong to depict Third World peoples only as victims of others' actions. This is where the second meaning of perspective enters the picture. When one considers the question of the relative proportion, or relative importance, given to the actions of different groups of people, a Third World perspective demands that greater, or at least equal, weight be given to the actions of Third World peoples in the making of their own history. We have not simply been helpless victims of colonial exploitation. We have resisted those attempts at subjugation, and it was only because we lost that we became victims. We do not read about the story of our struggles and our attempts to resist and cope because our histories have been written for us by our victors. Our real histories may have been unwritten, but we were never voiceless. When we talk about studying, or teaching about, the Third World from a Third World perspective, we are talking about our obligation to search for, reconstruct and reclaim the history of Third World peoples as something above and beyond the story of the consequences of a process which has too surgically been called the "expansion of Europe."

The task is not easy. Anger and militant rhetoric are not enough. Merely asserting that the Third World historical experience has validity and value is not enough. We must adopt a stance which is at once sympathetic and critical. It is sympathetic because it attempts to view Third World peoples as agents of history and social change--that is to say, as persons who act to affect their environment rather than as persons who are constantly being acted upon. It is critical because we must constantly sift through centuries of accumulated theories and "facts" to find that which is salvageable and separate it from what must be relegated, once and for all, to the "dustbin of history."

A few salient problems of teaching about the Chinese Revolution illustrate some of the general remarks made above. The Chinese Revolution is more complicated than many other cases that one could pick, because on top of the issue of a Western versus a Third World perspective, and the issue of whether China has anything in common with most of the formerly colonized world, one must come to terms with a Marxist perspective and its influence on Asian thinkers and Asian societies.

Teaching About the Chinese Revolution

The Chinese Revolution is an extremely complex phenomenon with many related facets. No less complex or controversial than the phenomenon itself is the scholarship of the revolution.⁷ All that can be discussed here are some of the pedagogical implications of taking into account the views which the People's Republic of China holds with regard to the revolution. Two questions need consideration:

⁷See the exchange of views between James Peck, a member of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, and John K. Fairbank, the dean of Chinese Studies in the United States, in "The Roots of Rhetoric: The Professional Ideology of America's China Watchers," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, 11:1 (1969), pp. 59-69, and "An Exchange," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, 11:3 (1970), pp. 51-70.

- 1) What is the Chinese Revolution?
- 2) What is the significance of the Chinese path of revolutionary development for the Third World?

Some people may be startled by the seemingly simple first question. After all, we all know that the Chinese Communist Party seized state power in 1949 and proclaimed the existence of the People's Republic of China. We also know that it took the Communist leadership almost three decades to achieve their goal. Why, then, do we need to ask such a silly question? The reason is that there are differences among the common sense conception of what the Chinese Revolution is, the Western scholarly conception of the revolution, and the Chinese Communists' own view of this same revolution. Teachers of Asian or Chinese Studies have a duty to help students understand these differences in view.

The starting point for discussion is the contention that Americans do not have a very deep understanding of what revolutions are. This is so in spite of their own revolutionary beginnings, now being celebrated in this bicentennial year. The common man and scholar alike tend to view revolutions as cataclysmic events. In the most thorough attempt at analyzing revolutions within the prevailing social science paradigm of social systems analysis, Chalmers Johnson discussed the requisite preconditions of revolution. They include: a disequilibrium social system, the existence of alternative values, a power deflation suffered by the ruling elite, and the presence of an "accelerator."⁸ In the history of Western political thought, the dominant trend has been concerned with politics as order. As Sheldon Wolin has put it, "This preoccupation with order has left its mark . . . every political inquiry is, in some degree, directed at the factors conducive to, or militating against, the maintenance of order."⁹ Revolutions represent the breakdown of order and the attempt by revolutionary leaders to establish a new order. Once the revolutionary leaders have seized state power, the scholar's interest is in seeing how they try to maintain power. After some period of time, if the revolutionary leaders manage to remain in power, the new social arrangements they have introduced begin to be institutionalized, and a new social equilibrium is established.

If what I am saying is true, then it is easy to understand why most Americans think of the Chinese Revolution as something which occurred back in 1949. On the most simplistic level, one can equate the Chinese Revolution with the "Communist take-over" of China. On a slightly more sophisticated level, one might consider the struggle for power between the Chinese Nationalists and the Chinese Communists and attempt to understand why the former "lost" and the latter "won." If one is historically minded, one delves into the causes of dynastic decline and the "impact of the West" on China. Regardless of how far back one traces the roots of the Chinese Revolution, one still has a tendency to think of the Chinese Revolution as something which has been completed. In short, the bias towards viewing revolutions as events, rather than processes, is very strong, and this bias is very apparent in both the common man conception and the scholarly conception of the Chinese Revolution.

⁸ Chalmers Johnson, *Revolutionary Change* (Boston, 1966), chapters 1-6.

⁹ Sheldon S. Wolin, *Politics and Vision* (Boston, 1960), p. 9.

In contrast, the Chinese¹⁰ have a much more long-term view of their own revolution. In creatively applying Marxist analysis to Chinese history, Mao Tse-tung has characterized China after the Opium War as a "semi-colonial and semi-feudal society." The forces which made Chinese society in the middle of the nineteenth century into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal one were "imperialism in collusion with Chinese feudalism." These two forces were responsible for the oppression of the majority of China's people. A revolution to liberate the masses of the people will have to strike at, and overthrow the twin forces of "imperialism" and "feudalism." In addition, a third target, the "comprador big bourgeoisie," was also specified.

If one is to explicate, rather than repeat rhetoric, one must undertake the difficult task of not only explaining what each of the terms refers to--as they are used by Westerners and as they are used by the Chinese in their adaptation of Marxist theory--but also the reasons why they are used.

To begin with, one must explain to students that the Chinese have adopted Marxism-Leninism as their guiding social and political philosophy. It is possible for teachers to convey this information even though they may have little understanding of Marxism-Leninism itself. Minimally, however, they must be able to explain in some fashion what the Marxist view of the law of development of society is. Society is seen as moving through stages, and the driving force of this motion is the conflict and struggle between different groups of people in society. These different groups of people are separated from each other because of the different relationships they have to the main means of producing material goods needed for the society's survival. Each group is called a class. During each succeeding stage of historical and social development, a different class will be in control of society. The dominant, or ruling, class exploits the subordinate class or classes. The exploited class(es), however, will reach a point where they are so badly exploited that their consciousness will develop and they will begin to think about, and carry out, action to overthrow their exploiters. If they succeed, they seize state power and become the new rulers. The state, therefore, is seen as the political instrument used by the ruling class during any particular stage, to maintain its own dominance. It should be pointed out here, however, that the basis for the dominance of any class is its ownership of those things in society which create material wealth.

Before one can explain to students Mao's characterization of Chinese society in the mid-nineteenth century as "semi-colonial" and "semi-feudal," one must also indicate that according to Marxist theory, the succeeding stages of historical-social development are: primitive communism, slave society, feudalism, capitalism, socialism, and communism. The first stage, in which mankind lived in primitive communes, was a classless society, because when people were barely able to subsist, no group was able to accumulate any surplus goods which could be used as the basis for dominating and exploiting others. The next four stages are all

¹⁰ Hereafter, the term "Chinese" refers to the prevailing views of the Chinese Communist leadership as they have been shaped by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung thought.

¹¹ Mao Tse-tung, "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, II (Peking, 1965), pp. 305-34.

class societies under which exploitation by one group of other groups exists. The last stage, which no society on earth has yet reached, will again become a classless society, because the basis of exploitation will have been eliminated.

Students should be informed that Marxists and non-Marxists reach an irreconcilable impasse when the question of feudalism in China is discussed.¹² There is no disagreement that some time during the very remote past Chinese society can be characterized as "feudal." But the dialogue reaches a dead end when the issue is raised of how long Chinese feudalism lasted. To non-Marxist Western historians, feudalism in China ended with the rise of the centralized imperial state. But according to Mao and the new generation of historians in the People's Republic of China today, the feudal period lasted well into the early nineteenth century. How historians in China have attempted to deal with this historiographical problem is another story.¹³ All that teachers can hope to do to clarify the issue for high school and undergraduate students is to help them understand why the Chinese Communists feel the need to define Chinese society as "feudal" for some three thousand years of her history.

Although prior to his death Marx wrote vaguely of a special "Asiatic mode of production," he never developed this strand of his theory clearly. Thus, the historians in China are left with the difficult task of accounting for two thousand years of imperial rule which cannot be accounted for according to the classical Marxist schema. Thus, the tendency has been to try and subsume this whole period under the rubric of feudalism. If Chinese history did in fact follow the specified Marxist law of development, then Chinese society has to be characterized as feudal. The most fruitful thing which can be done at this point is not to take a stand on whether Chinese society was indeed feudal or not; rather, one can lead discussions on what feudalism was as it developed in the context of European history, what its salient features were, and then move on to examine the extent to which Chinese society during the period before the Opium War exhibited these salient features. For example, one of the main characteristics of European feudalism was political decentralization. It so happens that China, during the declining years of the Ch'ing dynasty, exhibited a high degree of regionalism¹⁴ despite the existence of a formal centralized state and imperial bureaucracy. Another tack to follow might be to ask what the Chinese themselves seem to be focusing on when they talk of feudalism. If one has read enough

¹²See the volume of essays, Albert Feuerwerker, ed., *History in Communist China* (Cambridge, 1968). Two scholars who have discussed the issue in a balanced way are Etienne Balazs, in the collection of essays translated in *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy* (New Haven, 1964), and Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *The Fall of Imperial China* (New York, 1975), p. 7 ff.

¹³Albert Feuerwerker, "China's History in Marxian Dress," in Feuerwerker, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-44, and Harold Kahn and A. Feuerwerker, "The Ideology of Scholarship: China's New Historiography," in Feuerwerker, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-13. See also James P. Harrison, *The Communists and Chinese Peasant Rebellions* (New York, 1969).

¹⁴See Philip A. Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, 1970), and Stanley Spector, *Li Hung-chang and the Hwai Army* (Seattle, 1964).

publications from the People's Republic of China, one discovers that they tend to play up the idea of feudal oppression, which appears to be used synonymously with the exploitation of the peasants by the landlords. Since landlord exploitation of the peasantry is an undeniable fact in modern Chinese history, then one begins to see that, used in this sense, the term "feudal" may not be quite so objectionable after all.

In any event, to understand the Chinese view of their own revolution, it is more important to understand what they mean by "semi-feudal" rather than "feudal." What had made Chinese society "semi-feudal" by the mid-nineteenth century? Mao's analysis tells us it was the intrusion of Western economic enterprises. Note that Western economic penetration is not seen as introducing capitalism into China, but rather, it is seen as accelerating the process of capitalist development.¹⁵ The foreign origins of this new source of capital, however, skewed the development of the Chinese economy because the most active economic sector became dominated by foreigners and the Chinese middlemen ("compradors") who worked for and with them. Moreover, physically the new industries and enterprises were concentrated mainly in the treaty port cities.

A direct consequence of the introduction of foreign capital was the emergence of new classes in Chinese society. The "comprador big bourgeoisie" has already been mentioned. They can be distinguished from the "national bourgeoisie" because the latter are autonomous and do not rely on foreigners for the development of their manufacturing and commercial activities. In fact, the two are in competition with each other due to their competition for China's poorly developed resources, labor supply, and limited domestic market. A second new class which was emerging was the working class. For the most part, the Chinese working class was recruited from the peasantry who had been dispossessed of their land, and from persons who had formerly engaged in small cottage industries and in peddling who could no longer make a living due to the competition they faced from the foreign-controlled sector of the Chinese economy.¹⁶ Foreign economic domination, along with the myriad political devices used by the European powers, Japan, and Russia to rob China of various facets of her full sovereignty, reduced China into a semi-feudal as well as semi-colonial country.

The Chinese revolutionary process, then, was one which involved the overthrow of those persons and forces which had brought her to her prostrate state. Here it is appropriate to point out that students must be taught to look at Chinese society in terms of different classes rather than as a homogeneous whole because different individuals, and different groups of people, played different roles in the revolutionary process. One need not be an advocate of Marxist class analysis in order to discuss how it has been used. There is no way to get around the fact that while many different groups with different ideologies attempted to bring about social change in China during the twentieth century, the group that finally succeeded consisted of persons who had learned to understand their tasks in class terms.¹⁷ As relations between China and the United States move towards further

¹⁵Mao Tse-tung, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

¹⁶The best study of the Chinese working class is found in Jean Chesneaux, *The Chinese Labor Movement, 1919-1927* (Stanford, 1968).

¹⁷Mao had begun to tackle this question as early as 1926: "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, I (Peking, 1965), pp. 13-21.

normalization, it becomes more and more important to try to understand how the Chinese see the world--what categories and concepts they use not only to analyze their own history, but world history.

Different scholars in the West have tried to sort out what they think is "Chinese" from what is "Communist" in Chinese Communist ideology.¹⁸ While this can be an interesting academic exercise and can even lead to some partial understanding of China, such attempts are not very enlightening. The most important point to grasp is that the Chinese Communists have self-consciously chosen to adopt Marxism-Leninism, as it has been distilled through the prism of Mao Tse-tung thought forged in the arduous process of making a revolution, as their guiding philosophy. Even if one proves conclusively that China's pre-Communist era did not progress along Marxist lines, the fact remains that for over half a century now, certain groups of Chinese have worked and struggled and laid down their lives to move Chinese society towards a Marxist vision of the future. And the process is still going on.

The Chinese do not see their revolution as a single event, no matter how momentous, because they believe that change is built into social development. The revolution, as we understand it in the West, is but one stage in a multi-staged process in the eyes of the Chinese. The 1911 Revolution was the culmination of the old-style bourgeoisie democratic revolution, under which a new class, the "bourgeoisie," came to power. Historians may debate endlessly whether the unorganized coalition of revolutionary intellectuals, certain merchants, and some members of the gentry who made the 1911 Revolution can indeed be called a true bourgeoisie. No matter. The Chinese Communists have called the 1911 Revolution the old bourgeoisie-democratic stage. To explain the events of the next thirty years, Mao had to come up with a new theory of why the old bourgeoisie-democratic stage lasted for such a short time. The reason was that external conditions--the success of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the consequent establishment of a socialist state willing to support national liberation struggles in the backward countries--change the context within which the Chinese Revolution would occur. Thus, Mao defined a transitional "new democratic" stage of the Chinese Revolution, which was in and of itself basically bourgeoisie-democratic in nature, but which formed part of the (next) proletarian-socialist stage of the overall world revolution.¹⁹

While Western scholars and the public view the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 as a decisive date, to the Chinese themselves this date did not mark the end of one revolutionary stage and the beginning of another; China was said to still be in the new democratic stage for several years after liberation. In fact, originally Mao had thought the new democratic stage would continue for some years to come. However, by 1953, the Chinese decided that the basic tasks of the new democratic stage of the revolution had been completed, and

¹⁸For a classic debate on the nature of Mao's Marxism, see Karl A. Wittfogel, "The Legend of 'Maoism,'" *The China Quarterly*, No. 1 (1960), pp. 72-86, and No. 2 (1960), pp. 16-34; and Benjamin Schwartz, "The Legend of the 'Legend of 'Maoism,'" *The China Quarterly*, No. 2 (1960), pp. 35-42.

¹⁹It is outside the scope of this paper to discuss the meaning of the new democratic revolution. Mao Tse-tung himself has explained it best. See "On New Democracy," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, II (Peking, 1965), pp. 339-84.

the transition to the socialist stage was proclaimed to have begun. Today, China is still undergoing greater and greater degrees of socialist transformation. Much of the economic means of production is still at the collective, rather than socialist state ownership, stage. In the realm of politics, law, ideology, culture, and social relations--the so-called superstructure--a continuous process of changing people's consciousness and the ways in which they relate to each other is still going on. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was precisely a large-scale attempt to consciously change the different facets of culture to more "proletarian" forms. Those in the West were taken by surprise by the Cultural Revolution because they lacked a full understanding of how the Chinese themselves view the process of revolution. Or, to be more precise, they did not understand how Mao viewed what was going on in China, and his struggles to prevent the revolution from stopping under the false illusion that socialism had already been achieved in China. Terms such as "capitalist roaders" lose some of their ridiculous overtone once Westerners begin to understand the Maoist belief that while change is inherent in the historical process, it is people who must self-consciously push the desired process of change forward. "Capitalist roaders" are people who have become lazy and do not wish to work for further change; instead, they desire to return to a more capitalist stage rather than move towards a higher socialist stage because, concretely, they are people who stand to benefit from such backsliding.

In arguing for teaching about the Chinese Revolution from a Chinese perspective, one is not necessarily arguing for using Marxist theory per se. (After all, Marxism is a Western intellectual product.) Rather, one should argue for an explication of how the Chinese have used Marxist theory to enable themselves to understand their own situation and to guide them towards a future goal. Many Third World intellectuals are attracted to Marxism, though it is a product of the same Western civilization they have identified as being the source and cause of their oppression, because it does provide a coherent explanation of the exploitation of men against their fellow men. The Chinese Communists believe that the path of revolutionary development they have followed provides a way out of centuries of Western domination. Nevertheless, they are careful to state that revolution cannot be exported. What the Chinese themselves have done can only serve as guidelines; it cannot be an exact blueprint. Each country must "creatively apply" pre-existing theories and empirical examples to its own conditions. Such caution notwithstanding, let us move on to examine what the Chinese think the significance of their revolutionary experience for the Third World may be.

As John B. Starr has summarized for us, it is possible to study China in several different frameworks. One can follow the comparative Communism approach and study China as a Communist nation, or one can take the approach of political development and modernization theory and study China as a developing nation, or one can concentrate on ideology and study China as a "revolutionary regime," or one can study China as a rising world power, or, finally, one can study China as the sum of several different "local systems."²⁰ In recent years, especially after China was admitted into the United Nations, China has categorized herself as a developing nation within the Third World.

At the outset, it is important to note that China's definition of what

²⁰John Bryan Starr, *Ideology and Culture: An Introduction to the Dialectic of Contemporary Chinese Politics* (New York, 1973), pp. 3-14.

constitutes the First, Second, and Third Worlds differs from the way those terms are used in the West. The term Third World was originally popularized by French intellectuals. In the two decades since its existence, different writers and thinkers have defined it differently. Pierre Jalée, for example, in 1965 divided the nations of the world into two groups: the socialist group, under which he included all the socialist countries in the world; and the capitalist group, which he subdivided into the imperialist zone, consisting of the United States, Canada, Europe (except for the U.S.S.R. and the countries of Eastern Europe), Australia, New Zealand, Japan and Israel, and the Third World which included all the countries of Latin America (except for Cuba), the whole of Africa, Asian countries (except for Japan and Israel on the one hand, and China, Mongolia, North Korea, and the then North Vietnam, on the other hand), and lastly, Oceania.²¹ Jalée understood the imperialist countries and the Third World countries to be two sides of the same coin. That is to say, one group cannot exist without the other. There can be no exploited nations without exploiting nations and vice versa. Other users of the term Third World generally agree with Jalée's overall divisions, although they may differ with the placement of particular countries.

The People's Republic of China today, since the Sino-Soviet split, and especially after the Cultural Revolution, has defined the Three Worlds differently. They see the First World as having only two member nations: the United States and the Soviet Union. These two countries are seen as the major imperialist "super-powers" in the world. The Soviet Union is called a social imperialist power and is said to be even more dangerous than imperialist United States.²² The Second World consists of "other imperialist countries," most of which are located in Western Europe. The Third World consists of all the oppressed nations, be they socialist or underdeveloped capitalist. China identifies squarely with the Third World because, although China was never formally colonized, nonetheless she was an exploited nation. She was a "semi-colony." Today, having thrown off the yoke of oppression, she has posed some interesting alternatives to the usual remedies prescribed by Western economists for breaking out of the vicious circle of underdevelopment.

First, China stresses economic and political self-reliance. Economically, the first priority must be placed on the production of food grain so that the Third World country's people can be fed. This is in contrast to the Western prescription to increase the production of cash crops which often constitute a Third World country's main source of foreign exchange. What good is it earning more foreign exchange to buy expensive manufactured and capital goods when the majority of the people hover on the verge of starvation? The possibility now exists that the imperialist powers may use food as a weapon and even as blackmail.²³ Putting first priority on the production of food grain may mean that the overall rate of economic growth may decrease. Since the early 1960's, after

²¹Pierre Jalée, *The Pillage of the Third World* (Paris, 1965, and New York, 1968), and *The Third World in World Economy* (Paris, 1968, and New York, 1969).

²²"Economic Cause of Soviet Revisionism's World Hegemony Bid," *Peking Review*, No. 45 (1975), pp. 18-21.

²³Gail Omvedt, *The Political Economy of Starvation: Imperialism and the World Food Crisis* (Bombay, 1975).

China recovered from years of poor harvests, she consciously chose to "make grain the key link" in an overall pattern of balanced economic growth. She chose to develop more slowly and evenly, placing equal emphasis on developing agriculture and industry. While a more rapid pace of industrialization may lead to a faster economic growth rate in the short run, in the long run the continuous development of industry cannot be guaranteed unless agriculture has developed simultaneously. Agriculture not only provides the raw materials and savings for industry, but an increased income in the agricultural sector will increase the market for consumer goods. On the other hand, agricultural productivity cannot increase without fertilizers, pesticides, farm machinery, and heavy equipment to move earth and build irrigation works--all of which become available only with the development of industry.

China stresses financing economic development through internal accumulation, i.e., the savings generated from the increase in true productive capacity. She is proud that she has no internal or external debts. After the Soviet Union withdrew its aid, China paid back the Soviet loans as quickly as possible. China is fully aware of the trappings of foreign aid. On the other hand, she recognizes that many of the other Third World countries are not as fortunate as China is in terms of the availability of raw materials. Thus, China extends aid while simultaneously encouraging self-reliance.²⁴

China also believes that Third World countries should fight to regain control over their natural resources.²⁵ In various bodies of the United Nations, China speaks out eloquently on behalf of Third World attempts to gain greater control over the production, pricing, and distribution of key natural resources. In the days of colonialism, it was precisely the natural resources and labor power of the colonized countries which were exploited. Fighting to regain control over a country's natural resources and trying to develop without excessive reliance on foreign aid and foreign investment represent the continuation of the anti-colonial revolution. The achievement of political independence did not end colonial domination. Economic independence must be achieved as well. Tactically, Third World countries should analyze and utilize the "contradictions" within the imperialist camp, that is to say, between the smaller imperialist powers and the two "super-powers," on the one hand, and between the two "super-powers," on the other.

Finally, it should be said that in the Chinese view of the world, the anti-imperialist perspective is incomplete without a concomitant class analysis. Neither the so-called imperialist countries nor the Third World countries are homogeneous entities. Within each country, whichever side it may be on, one must ask the question: Who benefits from the existing conditions of dominance and dependence? In the history of colonialism, seldom has it been possible for the colonizing power to colonize a region simply by virtue of its own economic, military, or political superiority. In many instances, the process of colonization was made possible by the cooperation of an indigenous group which

²⁴*New China's First Quarter Century* (Peking, 1975), and "Third World: Great Motive Force in Advancing World History," *Peking Review*, No. 44 (1974), pp. 6-8.

²⁵"Third World Struggle against Hegemony in the Economic Sphere," *Peking Review*, No. 39 (1975), pp. 21-25.

benefitted from the symbiotic relationship. A similar situation still exists in many of the Third World countries today. For all of their nationalist rhetoric--which is genuine--the rulers of many Third World countries derive personal gains from foreign domination of their countries' resources. As in China, the overthrow of foreign exploiters must also involve the overthrow of domestic exploiters 'working in collusion' with the foreigners. As many of the domestic exploiters have become some form of capitalists, China sees the socialist revolution as a prerequisite for the simultaneous overthrow of imperialist exploitation.

To the People's Republic of China, the road to liberation is clear. Whether other Third World countries will follow in China's footsteps, of course, is something which each nation must decide for itself. As scholars and teachers of Asian Studies, it is incumbent on us to make sure that our students understand what the Chinese Revolution is about, not only because it is important and interesting in and of itself, but because of China's increasing importance in the world arena, especially in regard to her relationship to the Third World. Remember, after all, the Third World contains some three-quarters of humankind.

ALIENATION AMONG BLACK STUDENTS AT SMALL LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGES

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Between 1965 and 1970, with the rise of the black power movement, the burning of cities, and the constant charges of institutional racism, America was shocked into an awareness concerning its unceasing oppression of racial and ethnic minorities. Institutions became self-conscious, bureaucrats embarrassed and psychologically paralyzed by accusations of racism; and hurried, clumsy, scrambling, and occasionally sincere attempts were made to redress grievances and restore equilibrium. For blacks, there seemed to be what is termed a "revolution of rising expectations." The passing of the Civil Rights legislation, coupled with other advances, seemed to have a dual effect. On one hand, hopes for genuine change and true equality were kindled; on the other, there was a heightened sense of awareness of how far the nation had still to go to fulfill its democratic ideals. Both hope and frustration drove the movement on.

Then came the seventies, with recession, inflation, and conservative national government. Institutions ossified, hopes dimmed, and equilibrium returned. As a result, it seems that America has regressed to a fifties posture with regard to minorities--one of, at best, ignorance, and at worst, insensitivity.

The turbulent sixties even had an impact on small liberal arts colleges, as these institutions--long regarded as elitist, all-white structures--began to admit and even seek black students. As black enrollments increased, black student associations started forming, and black student advisors began being hired. Despite this rather rapid development in the small college sphere, little attention in scholarly literature was paid to it. There is a rather sizable literature concerning black student experiences at large, public universities, but almost nothing about small colleges. This paper is a beginning step toward filling that void. It arises from an empirical study of alienation among small college black students.

One of the first and perhaps greatest difficulties encountered in any examination of alienation resides in the task of defining the term. Alienation is an enormously productive and frequently used concept in scholarship--one which has over time acquired a myriad of meanings. Robert Nisbet describes this phenomenon in *The Quest for Community*.

At the present time, in all the social sciences, the various synonyms of alienation have a foremost place in studies of human relations. Investigations of the "unattached," the "marginal," the "obsessive," the "normless," and the "isolated" individual all testify to the central place occupied by the hypothesis of alienation in contemporary social science.¹

¹Robert A. Nisbet, *The Quest for Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 15.

The concept of alienation is, then, both useful and amorphous. Robinson and Shaver call it "one of the most widely used and misused terms of our time."² Sociologically, alienation is a major theme in the writings of Emile Durkheim and Karl Marx.³ Durkheim contributes to its study through his emphasis on the concept of anomie. Coser refers to it as "a condition of relative normlessness in a whole society or in some of its component groups."⁴ More psychological definitions of anomie, which apply it to individuals, also tend to stress normlessness in terms of social isolation and an absence of loyalty to, and identification with, a community.

Whereas Durkheim relates alienation to anomie or normlessness, for Marx it is tied up with powerlessness. Erich Fromm discusses Marx's idea of alienation.

Alienation (or "estrangement") means, for Marx, that man does *not* experience himself as the acting agent in his grasp of the world, but that the world (nature, others, and he himself) remains alien to him. They stand above and against him as objects, even though they may be objects of his own creation. Alienation is essentially experiencing the world and oneself passively, receptively, as the subject separated from the object.⁵

Marx cites the experience of the weaver to illustrate the powerlessness of the laborer in the capitalist economy. He explains that "the good weaver, too, is one of the instruments of labour, and being in this respect on a par with the loom, he has no more share in the product (the cloth), or in the price of the product, than the loom itself has."⁶

More recent attempts to define alienation have taken the form of dividing it into components. Seeman, Dean, and Middleton are foremost in such efforts at definition. Seeman divides alienation into normlessness, powerlessness, meaninglessness, denoting a state in which the individual is confused and unclear as to what to believe; isolation, which refers to a detachment from the goals and beliefs of the larger society; and self-estrangement, in which the rewards of the individual's activities issue from other than the activity itself. In this sense, self-estrangement is very similar to estrangement from work.⁷

²John P. Robinson and Phillip R. Shaver, *Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes, Appendix B to Measures of Political Attitudes* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, 1969), p. 161.

³Emile Durkheim, *Suicide*, trans. John A. Spaulding and George Simpson (New York: Free Press, 1951); Karl Marx, *Wage-labour and Capital*, rev. ed. (New York: International Publishers, 1933).

⁴Lewis A. Coser, *Masters of Sociological Thought* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), p. 132.

⁵Erich Fromm, *Marx's Concept of Man* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1966), p. 44.

⁶Marx, *Wage-labour and Capital*, pp. 18-19.

⁷Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (December 1959), pp. 783-91; Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," *American Sociological Review*, 26 (October 1961), pp. 754-58; Russell Middleton, "Alienation, Race, and Education," *American Sociological Review*, 28 (December 1963), pp. 973-77.

Dean divides alienation into normlessness, powerlessness, and social isolation. Social isolation may include lowered social participation, rejection by one's peers, etc.

Middleton's six-component definition is perhaps the most complete. He divides alienation into normlessness, powerlessness, and meaninglessness, cultural estrangement, social estrangement, and estrangement from work. Normlessness, powerlessness, and meaninglessness need no further definition as their meaning is consistent with previous descriptions. Cultural estrangement, according to Middleton, is synonymous with Seeman's isolation, reflecting an individual's lack of acceptance of popular or mass culture.

The social estrangement component is similar to Dean's social isolation, emphasizing a feeling of loneliness. Estrangement from work parallels Seeman's notion of self-estrangement. It suggests that work is not enjoyed in itself, but that it is viewed as a necessary prerequisite to meeting other needs and desires.

Despite the absence of studies of black student alienation at small colleges in the sociological and psychological literature, there is ample evidence indicating that black students confront a morass of problems and conflicts upon entering a small college.

Pruitt discusses the tremendous tensions black students experience in the institutional process of acculturation. She suggests that greater stress be placed on developing self-confidence, personal autonomy, a clearer identity, and the ability to adjust to personal problems.⁸

Taylor goes further, stating that the educational establishment does not really want to educate blacks properly, especially on black terms. He castigates the liberal-integrationist educational perspective as one which in actuality attempts to have blacks learn white values and culture in order for their integration to be allowed. Taylor sees the current state of American education as inadequate in terms of black education, cultural identity, psychological acceptance, feelings of relevance, and cultural needs and goals.⁹

Tribble reflects this view charging that the system perpetuates prevailing structures without emphasizing the development of personal identity, self-worth, and responsibility.¹⁰

Wisdom and Shaw claim that the black student gets only a white academic preparation in the form of white history, tradition, culture, customs, and thinking. Blacks are calling for not only an end to institutional racism, but

⁸Anne S. Pruitt, "Black Power at White Colleges--Personal Growth Goals," *Journal of College Student Personnel*, 11 (January 1970), pp. 3-7.

⁹Orlando L. Taylor, "New Directions for American Education: A Black Perspective," *Journal of Black Studies*, 1 (September 1970), pp. 101-12.

¹⁰Ike Tribble, "Motivational Counseling: A Black Educational Imperative," *Educational Leadership*, 28 (December 1970), pp. 297-301.

more black students, black faculty, black studies, and social separation as well.¹¹

Cardoso also views the traditional college society as irrelevant to blacks, especially because many black students come from a black culture of poverty. Black students feel they are in competition with whites, but on an unequal basis. They see themselves entering a superficial ghetto within the halls of ivy. This leads to institutionalization in the form of black studies programs, and eventually an attempt to create a "black college" in which the black students feel autonomous and liberated from all white control.¹²

Powell laments that although black students in Northern colleges are warmly greeted by administrative officials, they often receive insensitive treatment from faculty members and white students as they begin their academic careers, thus dampening their spirits.¹³

Methods

The study was conducted in a Midwestern college conference, consisting of small, liberal arts colleges. They ranged in size from 900 to 1,900 students. The 267 respondents constitute 59.5 percent of the 449 students attending the eight colleges in the study. Each student received a questionnaire which contained Middleton's alienation scale. The scale consists of six statements, each testing a different component of alienation. Agreement with an item indicates alienation. The statements and the components each tests follows.

1. "There is not much that I can do about most of the important problems that we face today" (powerlessness).
2. "Things have become so complicated in the world today that I really don't understand what is going on" (meaninglessness).
3. "In order to get ahead in the world today, you are almost forced to do some things which are not right" (normlessness).
4. "I am not much interested in the TV programs, movies, or magazines that most people seem to like" (cultural estrangement).
5. "I often feel lonely" (social estrangement)
6. "I don't really enjoy most of the school work that I do, but I feel that I must do it in order to have other things that I need and want (estrangement from work).

¹¹Paul E. Wisdom and Kenneth A. Shaw, "Black Challenge to Higher Education," *Educational Record*, 50 (Fall 1969), pp. 351-59.

¹²Jack J. Cardoso, "Ghetto Blacks and College Policy," *Liberal Education*, 55 (October 1969), pp. 363-72.

¹³JoAnn Powell, "Higher Education of the Black Student," *Journal of College Student Personnel*, 11 (January 1970), pp. 9-14.

Each of the six items, then, functions as a dichotomous dependent variable. One of the problems that merits further research in this regard is the conducting of factor analytic studies on the various components of alienation, and among various subgroups, in order to ascertain uniform underlying dimensions with the possibility of scaling these dimensions.

The independent variables used in this study include: sex, annual income of head of family, and college residence. The cross tabulations presented here will be between each of the independent variables and the six components of alienation. The analysis uses chi-square as a measure of association.

Findings

Moving from items eliciting the least amount of alienation to those indicating greater alienation, we find that only 23.2 percent of the total group agreed with item 2 (meaninglessness). Evidently, this group is not unduly confused by the complexities of the age. This sense of perspective may be due to the fact that they are in a learning environment with peers who are undergoing very similar experiences and are able to share them with these associates. The fact that each college has some type of black student association may also be involved here. These organizations bring the black students together in the task of critically appraising the academic and social environment in which the black students are a part, with the aim of ushering in the needed changes and reforms. One could also argue that because this is a sample of black college students, we are encountering a curious, learning-oriented group of people who are motivated, at least in part, to understand their local and national milieu.

In terms of cultural estrangement (item 4) only 30 percent indicated alienation. This low-alienation response should not necessarily be construed to suggest that blacks find the mass culture all that stimulating. Rather, for many of them, low socioeconomic status and/or minority group membership may limit their available leisure-time alternatives to TV, movies, and popular magazines, and so at least minimal interest in these media is developed.

There was also little alienation indicated on powerlessness (item 1), as only 30.3 percent agreed with the statement measuring it. Evidently, these minority students do not feel a lack of fate control. That this is a sample of "winners" -- individuals who have demonstrated a personal power of achievement by making it into college -- is to be borne in mind. In addition, the college subculture may also contribute to their not feeling powerless. Black students, as an organized group, are not only visible, but, especially since the riotous sixties, are often viewed as a potential powder keg and hence have to be reckoned with by students, faculty, and administration alike.

That only 34.8 percent endorsed item 5 (social estrangement) would seem rather encouraging, as blacks at these schools do find themselves a very small minority and could be expected to suffer from a considerable amount of loneliness. However, with peers whose life experiences are very similar and black student alliances which provide opportunities for interaction and support, social estrangement may be reduced. This result could also suggest that interracial relationships exist to a sizable extent, decreasing social distance between the students. There is, however, no certainty that such is the case.

A disturbing finding emerges in the case of item 3 (normlessness) as 60.7 percent of the total group endorsed it. Apparently, these students see the normative road to success as riddled with too many barriers to realistically expect success by following it scrupulously. In other words, for these students the American Dream is not fully operative; the system does not work in the strict sense of the term.

When compared with powerlessness which elicited little alienation, this finding suggests somewhat of a Watergate mentality--that opportunities for influence and self-determination do exist, but not if one keeps his activities strictly within the guidelines of the prevailing normative structure. Regrettably, when one considers the history of racist practices in American institutions, this view may well reflect more a sense of realism than counter-normative attitudes.

Alienation was most intense on the estrangement-from-work (item 6), as 61.4 percent agreed with it. Evidently these students are in college for largely instrumental reasons, although this may also be true of many white students. Nonetheless, the academic atmosphere has not been successful in stimulating intrinsic interest in the various subject matter, something that is widely lamented by teachers of black students at all levels. In the absence of black faculty and strong black studies programs it is little wonder that the students find the white-dominated academic subculture too alien for them to feel sufficiently attuned to it.

An initial general profile of the black student emerges as one who seems fairly well-adjusted socially and who finds the popular culture reasonably satisfying; he has a sense of awareness of the sociopolitical environment and feels in control of his own fate. Nevertheless, he views the norms of society as forces which inhibit rather than facilitate opportunities for personal success. Finally he sees college in instrumental (perhaps vocational), rather than academic, terms.

Responses of the Subgroups

In terms of the subgroups, females' responses differed sharply from males' on cultural estrangement (item 4). (See Table 2.) Only 22.1 percent of the females agreed with the item compared with 35.7 percent of the males-- a difference of 13 percent. This difference is significant at the .03 level. The lower level of alienation on the females' part may be due to a number of factors. For one, it may simply be related to the amount of time spent watching TV and reading magazines as a result of greater social isolation (discussed next). Indeed, more time spent in the dormitory or at home owing to a lack of transportation and social opportunities may be very much involved. With regard to magazines, females may simply read more than males and hence develop a greater interest in contemporary books and magazines. Despite this disparity, one should bear in mind that males, as a whole, were not alienated on this component as well.

The sexes also differed sharply on social estrangement (item 5). Only 27.6 percent of the males, as compared to 45.5 percent of the females, expressed social estrangement. This 18 percent disparity, which is significant at the .01 level, gives rise to several possible interpretations.

For the many black males who participate in intercollegiate athletics, the college provides certain unique advantages. Despite the many well-documented charges of racist practices and attitudes against black athletes, many of them, especially at a small college, do enjoy a somewhat celebrative status. This enables them to etch out a clear social identity and forms a basis for a number of intra and interracial relationships as well as opportunities for travel. In addition, the dating tradition which makes it customary for males to approach females may also be involved here, as males are in a more advantageous position to initiate desirable affiliative experiences. Moreover, interracial dating among college students favors black males as interracial relationships much more often include black males than females. In the observation of the author as well as others, this is a sore point and a problem of considerable magnitude for black coeds, limiting their social opportunities in a vital area of college life.

There was a better than 14 percent difference between the sexes on item 6 (estrangement from work), with 69 percent of the males endorsing it compared with 54.6 percent of the females. This difference is significant at the .03 level. The author's observation that black coeds tend to be more academically oriented than males is supported here. Social estrangement may be a factor, with the males' greater social involvement having the effect of reducing the amount of time devoted to academic pursuits.

There were differences among the various income groups on several of the items. (See Table 3.) Response differences on the powerlessness component (item 1) reach a .03 significance level. Only 11.1 percent of the students who came from backgrounds in which the head of the family earned in excess of \$20,000 annually agreed with it. This is not very surprising as these higher-income students likely have less reason to feel powerless when compared with the rest of the respondents. Minority status evidently has not prevented their families from achieving economic stability at a level which is not likely to produce feelings of victimization.

The \$5,000-to-\$10,000 group was the most alienated with 43.5 percent endorsing the statement. Although some might hypothesize that the under-\$5,000 group would express the greatest amount of alienation here, it is likely that such students may feel they have personally escaped the ensnarement of poverty and so feel confident that they can overcome other barriers in making substantial impact on their society. By contrast, those in the \$5,000-\$10,000 group have had a life of "just making it." They are marginal, barely surviving, in an inflated economy. As such they have a heightened awareness of the difficulties involved in making a mark (at least financially) in the society.

The over-\$20,000 subjects were also the lowest in alienation--only 22.2 percent agreeing--on item 4 (cultural estrangement). It is logical that these students would be most acculturated and middle class in lifestyle, making them more comfortable with the mass culture. Interestingly, only 28.9 percent of the under-\$5,000 respondents endorsed the item, placing them second lowest in alienation on this item. Perhaps we have a "limited alternatives" phenomenon at work again here. Low income may give rise to fewer social and leisure-time opportunities than those available to the more affluent, and hence these people may turn more often to the less-expensive mass forms of cultural entertainment.

Responses to the social estrangement item (5) were unusual. Alienation was

the lowest among the middle three groups, with the over-\$20,000 and the under-\$5,000 respondents registering 44.4 and 40.5 percent agreement, respectively. It is logical that the radical differences between the upper-middle-class milieu and the poverty background of the under-\$5,000 subjects would produce high levels of social estrangement for the latter. However, the over-\$20,000 group may also have particularly vexing problems. It is likely that these higher-income students may feel alienated because of the lack of black peers. Furthermore, a higher standard of living may make their life style markedly different from that of their fellow black students causing them to be regarded as bourgeoisie and culturally not "black enough" to be fully accepted by their black associates, while racial difference separates them from the more socioeconomically similar white students.

The over-\$20,000 group also provided an exception to the generally high level of normlessness as only 22.8 percent endorsed the item. This is hardly surprising as the American system has not worked counter the occupational and economic pursuits of their families. Each of the other groups registered agreement with the item at about the same rate--60 percent--indicating that only the rather affluent students feel the normative structure serves their needs.

The over-\$20,000 respondents were the only income group not estranged from their work. Only 33.3 percent of these students endorsed the item. It is likely that college may be rather fulfilling in itself for these students, as they may not be aspiring to economic and occupational levels greatly above those in which they were raised. The \$5,000-to-\$10,000 subjects expressed the greatest degree of alienation on this component--76.5 percent agreed. Clearly, college is not an end in itself to these students, but more likely a path out of economically trying conditions. Although alienated, the under-\$5,000 respondents were much less so as their 63.9 percent agreement indicates. The college environment may be so different that even the academic side has some stimulating qualities.

In terms of college residence--on or off campus--differences were apparent on especially two of the items. (See Table 4.) Off-campus students felt more powerless than those on campus--43.1 to 27.2 percent. Lower powerlessness levels among resident students supports the notion that they may be assessing their sociopolitical potency in terms of the campus subculture rather than the society at large. Within the campus subculture, consisting of largely black and white peers, a black student is likely to feel much more socially and politically powerful than he would if he views himself against the backdrop of the larger culture, as is probably the case for many of the commuters whose daily life is not organized around the campus.

The social estrangement item (5) showed a difference between the groups. Off-campus students were less socially estranged (27.5 percent) than resident students (37.3 percent). This may indicate that some on-campus students are more acutely aware of their minority status in the white college atmosphere, and, in the absence of readily available means of transportation, are virtually grounded on the campus. This could indicate an either/or phenomenon for the resident student. Either the social environment is very much to his liking and he finds it reasonably satisfying, or he feels rather out of place on campus. Nonetheless, it should be emphasized that 62.7 percent of the on-campus group did reject the social estrangement item. Commuting students, however, have greater freedom to seek social contacts on and off campus.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the evidence from this study (in addition to the author's own experience and observation) suggests that alienation does indeed exist among certain groups of black students at small colleges. With that knowledge, the question becomes: What are some realistic steps small colleges can take to reduce alienation and create a more multicultural environment? A few recommendations follow. They are by no means intended to constitute an exhaustive list, but rather it is hoped that they will stimulate other suggestions for improvement.

Black Student Recruitment. Black students rarely constitute even 5 percent of a small college population. Smallness of numbers has been, in the author's experience, a constantly verbalized concern among black students.

Support for a Black Student Association. A strong black student organization is vital to the life of black students on campus. Ample financial backing, in addition to a qualified black student advisor, is necessary for success in this area.

Academic Assistance. Many black students come from inner-city high schools in which they are not adequately prepared for the academic demands of the private liberal arts college. Colleges should take steps to fill this gap.

Black Faculty. Over half of the colleges in this study had no black faculty members. Such people are vitally important. They not only can establish individual rapport with black students, but also provide much-needed models of academic success.

Black Cultural Emphasis. Black cultural expression should not be limited to an annual Black Expression Week, but college events should regularly reflect the existence of black and other minority students on campus.

Curriculum Review. Faculty members should periodically review the content of their courses with an eye toward proper acknowledgment of black contributions and concerns.

Black Studies Program. A quality black, or at least minority studies, program including both course offerings and appropriate materials would not only be helpful to black students but would serve to heighten consciousness throughout the institution of the importance of minorities in society.

Minority Education Committee. A faculty committee, headed by the black student advisor, which regularly reviews the whole area of minority education would aid in keeping the college abreast of minority student problems and concerns.

A major objective of these recommendations is to keep awareness of black student concerns high in the small college community. Keeping awareness alive is a must, whether it be at the small college or the national level. With political activism on the wane and the Civil Rights Movement no longer visibly moving, blacks are perilously close to returning to the "invisible man" status of the past. That must not be allowed to happen, for the goal of making our institutions genuinely multicultural and pluralistic is not only noble, it is fundamental to a truly democratic society.

TABLE 1
RESPONSES OF TOTAL POPULATION BY ALIENATION ITEMS

	Alienation Items						
	1 Power- lessness	2 Meaning- lessness	3 Normal- lessness	4 Cultural Estrangement	5 Social Estrangement	6 Work Estrangement	Total
Percentage Agree	30.3	23.2	60.7	30.0	34.8	61.4	40.1
Number	(81)	(62)	(162)	(80)	(93)	(164)	(642)
Percentage Disagree	68.9	75.7	37.1	68.2	62.3	36.0	58.2
Number	(184)	(202)	(99)	(182)	(169)	(96)	(932)
Percentage No Response	0.7	1.1	2.2	1.9	1.9	2.6	1.7
Number	(2)	(3)	(6)	(5)	(5)	(7)	(28)

Alienation Among Black Students

TABLE 2
ALIENATION BY SEX

	Alienation Items																	
	1			2			3			4			5			6		
	% Agree	% Dis-Agree	Total	A	D	T	A	D	T	A	D	T	A	D	T	A	D	T
Males	33.3 (39)	66.7 (78)	(117)	19.7 (23)	80.3 (94)	(117)	64.7 (75)	35.3 (41)	(116)	35.7 (41)	64.3 (74)	(115)	27.6 (32)	72.4 (84)	(116)	69.0 (80)	31.0 (36)	(116)
Females	26.0 (32)	74.0 (91)	(123)	25.2 (31)	74.8 (92)	(123)	61.5 (75)	38.5 (47)	(122)	22.1 (27)	77.9 (95)	(122)	45.5 (55)	54.5 (66)	(121)	54.6 (65)	45.4 (54)	(119)
Total	(71)	(169)	(240)	(54)	(186)	(240)	(150)	(88)	(238)	(68)	(169)	(237)	(87)	(150)	(237)	(145)	(90)	(235)
	x2 = 1.2099			.7633			.1396			4.6495			7.3877			4.5253		
	p = .2714			.3823			.7087			.0311			.0066			.0334		

TABLE 3
ALIENATION BY INCOME

	Alienation Items																	
	1			2			3			4			5			6		
	% Agree	% Dis-Agree	Total	A	D	T	A	D	T	A	D	T	A	D	T	A	D	T
Under \$5,000	35.1 (13)	64.9 (24)	(37)	31.6 (12)	68.4 (26)	(38)	60.5 (23)	39.5 (15)	(38)	28.9 (11)	71.1 (27)	(38)	40.5 (15)	59.5 (22)	(37)	63.9 (23)	36.1 (13)	(36)
\$ 5,000-\$10,000	43.5 (37)	56.5 (48)	(85)	31.8 (27)	68.2 (58)	(85)	63.9 (53)	36.1 (30)	(83)	36.5 (31)	63.5 (54)	(85)	28.2 (24)	71.8 (61)	(85)	76.5 (65)	23.5 (20)	(85)
\$10,000-\$15,000	24.6 (17)	75.4 (52)	(69)	20.6 (14)	79.4 (54)	(68)	62.7 (42)	37.3 (25)	(67)	23.1 (15)	76.9 (50)	(65)	36.2 (25)	63.8 (44)	(69)	50.7 (34)	49.3 (33)	(67)
\$15,000-\$20,000	21.4 (9)	78.6 (33)	(42)	12.2 (5)	87.8 (36)	(41)	58.5 (24)	41.5 (17)	(41)	35.7 (15)	64.3 (27)	(42)	32.5 (13)	67.5 (27)	(40)	57.5 (23)	42.5 (17)	(40)
Over \$20,000	11.1 (1)	88.9 (8)	(9)	11.1 (1)	88.9 (8)	(9)	22.2 (2)	77.8 (7)	(9)	22.2 (2)	77.8 (7)	(9)	44.4 (4)	55.6 (5)	(9)	33.3 (3)	66.7 (6)	(9)
Total	(77)	(165)	(242)	(59)	(182)	(241)	(144)	(94)	(238)	(74)	(165)	(239)	(81)	(159)	(240)	(148)	(89)	(237)
	x ² = 11.0700 p = .0258			8.2496 .0829			6.1095 .1911			3.9348 .4149			2.5976 .6273			14.7421 .0053		

TABLE 4
ALIENATION BY COLLEGE RESIDENCE

	Alienation Items																	
	1			2			3			4			5			6		
	% Agree	% Dis-Agree	Total	A	D	T	A	D	T	A	D	T	A	D	T	A	D	T
On Campus	27.2 (56)	72.8 (150)	(206)	22.5 (46)	77.5 (158)	(204)	61.1 (124)	38.9 (79)	(203)	30.0 (61)	70.0 (142)	(203)	37.3 (76)	62.7 (128)	(204)	63.1 (128)	36.9 (75)	(203)
Off Campus	43.1 (22)	56.9 (29)	(51)	26.9 (14)	73.1 (38)	(52)	68.0 (34)	32.0 (16)	(50)	32.7 (17)	67.3 (35)	(52)	27.5 (14)	72.5 (37)	(51)	63.3 (31)	36.7 (18)	(49)
Total	(78)	(179)	(257)	(60)	(196)	(256)	(158)	(95)	(253)	(78)	(177)	(255)	(90)	(165)	(255)	(159)	(93)	(252)
$\chi^2 = 4.1958$				.2317			.5500			.0402			1.3147			.0189		
$p = .0405$				.6303			.4583			.8412			.2515			.8907		

REFLECTIONS ON FIVE CONTINUING EDUCATION PROGRAMS ON RACE AND SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

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Social workers have traditionally been the champions of oppressed minorities and the poor, many of whom reside in our multi-racial modern American cities. Social agencies reflect the attitudes of the larger society in numerous ways, including inadequate attention to redressing racial inequities. Because America is still so far from having solved racial problems, we today more often confront the concept of multi-racial cities as a nightmare instead of as the fulfillment of a goal of rich diversity. This report on programs aimed at sensitizing a particular group of professionals to racial problems and encouraging change may suggest avenues of approach to other groups and professions.

The social work literature of the 1960's and early 1970's amply documents the existence of racist attitudes and practices in the social welfare institution and among its practitioners. Equally compelling is documentation of the pernicious results of racism. By now, it is recognized that the oppressed and the oppressors both suffer psychic damage from deeply imbedded prejudices. This fact should not overshadow the fact that in all other ways--jobs, justice, health, housing--it is minorities who suffer grossly disproportionate detrimental effects from racism in American society.

More recently, the paucity of knowledge about minorities other than Black--Native American, Asian American, Latin American--has led to increased interest in their special problems and concerns. There has also been renewed attention to cultural and familial differences characteristic of white ethnics.

In 1971, the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) set the elimination of racism as a priority for the next decade. The main focus has been on increased opportunities for minorities--a most important matter, but only half of the picture.

If a large portion of the racism in social work consists of the conscious and unconscious reinforcement of racism by white social workers, then educational and professional change efforts need to be directed toward those white social workers. The continuing education programs to be discussed have attempted to deal with racism from the several perspectives suggested above.

Discussion and Evaluation

The continuing education programs sponsored by the UW-Extension Center for Social Service have examined the profession of social work as it deals with racial issues. They have examined the way practice is affected by the fact of racial

differences, and they have examined institutional racism in the systems in which social workers are employed. Program leaders have been cognizant of the shift in public attitude toward racial problems, i.e., from the deep concern of the sixties to the "benign neglect" of the seventies.

Evaluations have indicated that participants preferred programs with a skills orientation that enabled them to go back to their agencies and do something different or better. Using this criterion, *The Contemporary Black Family* and *Racial Factors in Therapeutic Treatment*, each with a focus on important areas of practice, had the most to offer in the how-to-do-it realm. The further away from individual practice "solutions" were, the less satisfying they appeared to be to the social workers who attended these continuing education programs.

What Now Black Folks was a specialized offering aimed at educating selected segments of the black community. For whites, the educational potential was in being present at a blacks-for-blacks program. Generally, in the context of professional practice as elsewhere, white perceptions and value orientations to social work are dominant, and racial issues are seen from a white perspective. In the program, *What Now Black Folks*, the implications and effects of racism, and suggested solutions, were being presented by a black professional leader to a largely black audience.

In *Race and Casework*, professional responsibility was highlighted above and beyond individual practice. Recognizing the limitations of each person's ability to influence agency-wide practice and policies, the keynote speaker stressed the power of numbers and the weight of the sanction of the professional organization.

Yet, despite reinforcement provided by the aforementioned priority on the elimination of racism by the National Association of Social Workers, no formal or informal approach has ever been made to the local association for assistance in agency self-examination. Social work educational institutions acknowledge that institutional racism exists, but they have not equipped their graduates with skills or motivation to work toward eliminating racism through organizational change.

The program on *Institutionalized Racism* was designed to illustrate the phenomenon of institutional racism in industry, education, and criminal justice before focusing on social welfare. Thus, participants could first look at employment practices, ways of "blaming the victim," and other forms of discrimination in comparable institutions more emotionally neutral than the one to which they are professionally attached.

During the course of this program, more than in any of the others, guilt and defensiveness surfaced as stumbling blocks needing to be dealt with by participants before new learning could occur. Typically, individuals would exchange personal experiences about racial matters on an anecdotal level and then proceed to an abstract diagnostic discussion of motivation or etiology. The leaders attempted to move participants from this level to consideration of realistic behavior change possibilities for each individual.

Some participants took on the role of judging that attempts by others to deal with racism were "inadequate," "superficial," or "ineffective," and they denied the worth or sincerity of those attempts. This led to discussion of

Individual differences in background and the varieties of experiences around racial matters. For instance, a person from rural Wisconsin who had never met any minority group members until attending college would be expected to have a different perspective from an urban individual who had lived in an integrated neighborhood and had life-long associations with a wide variety of ethnic groups. The point seems obvious when stated this way. Nevertheless, it was striking to note the degree to which many individuals started out with fixed notions of the one right way to think or behave to eliminate personal and institutional racism.

Clearly, working out personal feelings and translating them to organizational behavior is a long-term undertaking. We posited no grandiose goals for our individual or collective programs. The educational goal was to help participants in the direction of behavioral and organizational change through a combination of informational, cognitive, and experiential offerings.

With such emotionally laden material, it is essential to build in opportunity for expression of feelings. All programs have provided small group sessions to maximize interaction. Equally important is the learner's acceptance of responsibility for his/her own learning. Participants have been involved in pre-planning and in follow-up for continuous feedback. While opportunities were offered for mutual support and reinforcement, we have already noted that no organized follow-up occurred under the auspices of the professional association, or elsewhere.

Measurement of results is difficult under the most controlled conditions. Where large external social forces and intimate internal experiences impinge on the educational enterprise, evaluation is doubly difficult. A few observations, based on hindsight, may be in order:

1. A variety of educational approaches should be used in recognition of the fact that individuals respond differently and selectively to educational material.
2. The cumulative effect of attending several programs, over time, each presented from a different perspective, cannot be measured directly, but participants who have attended two or more of our programs report that they keep "learning" and "changing."
3. Personal growth, *per se*, as in a sensitivity training approach, has not been stressed in our programs, but incidental personal growth should occur as part of any educational (change) experience.
4. Professional responsibility to consumers of social services is the ultimate justification for all (continuing) education in social work.

Conclusions

In mid-1975, we do not know whether we are the educational vanguard or backwash. The wave of the sixties has passed. Except in communities under federal court order to desegregate public schools, interest in racial and minority issues is passé.

For the social work profession, elimination of racism remains a priority. It

must be a priority at all levels of social work education and for agency staff development programs. Social work graduates now enrolled in continuing education programs should not be hearing about racism in social welfare for the first time.

Schools of Social Work Should:

1. Not graduate anyone who has not had a grounding in the professional literature and knowledge of racism in our society.
2. Continue to stress the social change agent role of all social workers, including organizational and systems concomitants.
3. Insure that social work graduates understand the economic and political systems as well as the social welfare system.
4. Integrate knowledge about racial and cultural diversity into skills and methods courses.

Social Work Continuing Education Programs Should:

1. Fill in the gaps; be able to program for an already sensitized constituency.
2. Build on and extend knowledge and help professionals operationalize their knowledge in practice.
3. Extend to professionals and the general public more sophisticated knowledge about the functioning of our society and its effect on individuals.
4. Constantly provide opportunity for updating and improving skills, incorporating the most advanced knowledge.

As continuing educators, we were and are aware of the critical need for programs on race and social work to:

1. Provide a sound knowledge base about racial and cultural differences.
2. Develop practice skills around utilizing individual and group strengths.
3. Provide an educational atmosphere where people can express and work through anxieties as part of their learning process.

Our experience indicates that educational risk-taking does pay off and that participants do respond. We strongly urge graduate schools and undergraduate programs, agency in-service programs, and continuing education programs to become bolder and more active in addressing racism in our profession and our society.

Future Directions

The three areas initially identified as being foci for programs on race were: practice skills and methods, institutionalized racism, and attitudinal and behavioral change. These will continue to receive attention.

On the level of organizational behavior, social agencies are now required to prepare and implement affirmative action plans. The sensitization to racial factors that participants in our programs report can help in resolving the interpersonal issues on which successful implementation of affirmative action often turns.

In addition, we are now finding ourselves moving to a larger arena of social issues. For example, as part of leadership development activities and education for citizen involvement, the University of Wisconsin-Extension Center for Social Service is becoming involved in public education with its problems of desegregation, quality education, and parent participation. This is an appropriate extension of the University's public service mission. It is also in the social reform tradition of the profession of social work. Use of the University as a community resource for problem solving, as well as a generator and disseminator of knowledge, is one creative and promising approach toward solving the very difficult problems posed by racism in our profession and our society.

Until racism, related as it is to poverty, disappears from American life, there will remain the need for the helping professions to address this problem. At this time, many communities have not been confronted with the high price of discrimination. Social workers will need to reaffirm their allegiance to democratic ideals and become aware of the insidious nature of prejudice. Continuing educators will need to address this issue over and over again. These five programs represent one approach to the professional task of eliminating racism. The packaging of other aspects of the problem, so that social workers will be knowledgeable and effective, remains a challenge to the profession and to social work educators.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTIONS

Race and Casework - A Practitioner Workshop

Goals

- 1. To increase awareness in social workers with master's degrees of racial factors affecting practice in family agencies, agencies dealing with children and youth, the physically and mentally handicapped, and medical and health agencies.
2. To provide opportunity for exchange of ideas, experiences, and practice problems in small groups.

Format

- One-day workshop, keynote address, minorities panel, workshops.

Participants

- Thirty social workers with master's degrees from public and voluntary social agencies and institutions.

Institutionalized Racism--Viewed Insight/Out - A Practitioner Conference

Goals

- 1. To present an intensive day-long session, including a variety of educational experiences, exemplifying institutional racism in American society--in industry, education, criminal justice, and social welfare.
2. To focus on the social welfare institution and on opportunities for practitioners to bring about change.
3. To encourage each participant to: a) evaluate change options available to him/her, and b) make a commitment to

work toward achievable goals in ameliorating racism in his/her agency.

Format - Twelve-hour, fast-paced, stimulus-overload program: films, caucus groups, formal presentations, feedback, and debriefing.

Participants - Sixty-five MSW caseworkers and supervisors, many of whom had attended the previous workshop on *Race and Casework*.

What Now Black Folks?

Goals

- 1. To provide an opportunity for the black community to hear and exchange ideas with a leading black social work educator and activist.
- 2. To stimulate leadership development and community planning efforts among black leaders.
- 3. To provide a forum for faculty and black social welfare students to address educational issues.

Format - Three distinct programs for different constituencies over a day and a half, featuring the same black educator as leader-catalyst:

- 1. Open evening lecture meeting.
- 2. Faculty-student colloquium planned by racial minority perspectives committee of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee School of Social Welfare.

Participants

- 1. 150 general public.
- 2. 35 black leaders.
- 3. 50 students, faculty.

The Contemporary Black Family

Goals

- 1. To examine or re-examine family structure among black American families.
- 2. To examine the effect of dominant social conditions upon the functioning of black families.
- 3. To provide professional skills to help social workers assess strengths and weaknesses of black families, with emphasis on utilizing strengths.

Format - One-day seminar, keynote speaker. Workshops on: Structure; Roles and Identity Problems of the Black Family; Law and Order and the Black Family; Social Class, Mobility and the Black

Family; Social Institutions in the Black Community; Mixed Families; Mixed Neighborhoods, and Separatism.

Participants - Fifty human services paraprofessionals and professionals from public and voluntary agencies.

Racial Factors in Therapeutic Treatment

- Goals
- 1. To examine racial fallacies and stereotypes in treatment approaches and goal setting.
 - 2. To broaden the perspective of agencies and/or helping professionals in understanding and interpreting personality characteristics and behavior of black clients.

Format - Keynote address, question and answer period, open individual or group consultation.

Participants - Seventy social workers, family therapists, counselors.

BILINGUAL BICULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES: A SECOND CHANCE

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Bilingual bicultural education is a much discussed and confused topic these days. Since the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's recent "clarification," it may become even more so, for although HEW attempted to dispel "misunderstandings," it seems only to have cancelled out its efforts by continuing its announcement with ambiguous statements such as "... its guidelines are not exclusive," and "... a burden is placed upon that [school] district to show that remedies submitted [for bilingual bicultural education] will be effective to cure the violations."¹

That news releases such as the above only further obscure the situation by revealing lack of knowledge appears in an editorial two days later from the same newspaper:

A policy requiring bilingual education would have been an enormous mistake. The effectiveness of such education is a matter of widespread disagreement among educators. Even if the effectiveness of bilingual education were beyond dispute, implementing it nationally would involve vast expenditures in time, money, and effort. It would compel many school boards . . . to give short shrift to other academic subjects, including the traditional three R's. . . . It would be utter folly to cut back on the basics. . . .²

Now if such lack of insight about the need for and the effectiveness of bilingual bicultural education can come from a person so well-educated and supposedly well-informed as the writer of an editorial for one of the country's largest and most prestigious newspapers, what can we expect from the average person who is less informed and who feels comfortable only when his world continues to follow the orderly pattern he has always known? For him, that pattern has always included schooling for all in only one language, and that language is English. This type of thinking remains, despite the fact that almost all of us come from families in which English was not a native language, either recently or just a few generations removed. This attitude still prevails, despite the fact that the State of Illinois alone records 141 different languages spoken within its borders.³ This, despite the fact that we teachers have children in our classrooms

¹Chicago *Sun-Times* (April 19, 1976), p. 8.

²*Ibid.* (April 20, 1976), p. 41.

³Robert A. Lyons, "Preparing for State Mandated Bilingual Education," an address presented to the Fourth International Bilingual Bicultural Education Conference, Chicago, Illinois, 1975.

from families representing many languages, and that we try communicating with them by using sign language, dictionaries, and other students as interpreters.

Yes, we must ask ourselves, "Why do we act as if we were all one in language background, when we know that we are not, when we know that each of us clings to his own language and customs with a tenacity born of the instinct to preserve his being?"

The President of the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, the Reverend Monsignor George Baroni, states the essence of the dilemma when he says:

Americans feel discomfort in dealing with different cultural groups. . . . Americans don't know how to deal with ethnicity. . . . We've never been able to deal with diversity, with pluralism. . . . We're all afraid of each other. We're interculturally incompetent.⁴

Despite the fact, however, that confusion and hostility exist about the necessity for bilingual bicultural education in the United States, we are making progress. Current legislation at several state levels indicates it as do programs operating within individual school districts throughout the country.⁵ We are making progress because we must. In recent years, we have begun to mature as a nation, which means, among other things, that we can admit publicly to having made some terrible mistakes in our relations with our fellow countrymen. And one of these mistakes was the assumption by the white, dominant group that all other groups were disadvantaged, were minority peoples, and, therefore, subservient.⁶ This idea has been especially evident in our system of public education.⁷

Fisher is graphic in his comment about the situation:

In five Southwestern states, between two and three million Spanish-speaking children attend schools in which all instruction is given in English. In New Mexico more than a third of these children are in the first grade, and over half of those in grades above five are two years or more overage for their grade levels. The learning problems of these children are so severe that one Texas school board required all children with Spanish surnames to spend three years in the first grade; and Chicanos, those with Spanish speaking background, were put into classes for the mentally retarded on the basis of intelligence tests administered in English. Statistics regarding the education of more than 200,000 Indian children in public or Bureau of Indian Affairs schools are pretty much the same. The Indian

⁴Chicago *Sun-Times* (1976).

⁵Laura S. Johnson, "Bilingual Bicultural Education: A Two-Way Street," *The Reading Teacher* (December, 1975), pp. 231-39.

⁶Roger D. Abrahams, "Stereotyping and Beyond," in Roger D. Abrahams and Rudolph C. Troike, eds., *Language and Cultural Diversity in American Education* (Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), p. 29.

⁷Mary Finocchiaro, "Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages," in Bernard Spolsky, ed., *The Language Education of Minority Children* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972), p. 126.

dropout rate is more than twice that of the national average, and in some districts it approaches 80 to 90 percent.⁸

But just airing the subject now and talking about it indicates progress; it takes courage for all of us to do this. But if all of us, both dominant and subservient groups, recognize ourselves as the shock troops for tomorrow in the roles we now play, we will be able to face the issue, study it, and resolve it so that we can work in harmony, thus getting along with the business of really teaching the basics, keeping always in mind to include this second time around the basic BASIC which was omitted the last time--the child's feeling about himself and the school.⁹ We have the choice of doing this or facing even more chaos and violence than we now encounter in our schools, though this statement is not to imply that all the violence is caused by minority or non-English speaking children, as newspapers and magazines too numerous to mention seem to indicate. All segments and places of society contribute to the current vandalism and crime in schools.

Abrahams expresses the situation well about the general public opposition to bilingual bicultural education when he designates stereotyping as one of the reasons for defense, defining stereotyping as "... one of our major means of organizing life, of making it predictable and comfortable." He then goes on to explain what happens when the stereotype is challenged.

Going into any truly intercultural situation is the most intensely unsettling experience anyone can go through . . . but it is necessary for us to learn how to control the stereotypical judgments that arise . . . because those involved are operating in regard to different systems of communication, in different cultures. It is only by being willing to recognize and accept these systematic differences that we can get beyond stereotypes.¹⁰

So it is when this traditional pattern of education, which all of us have encountered from kindergarten through graduate school, is upset that we have trouble trying to see the necessity for change, for introducing an element into our schools which has hitherto been ignored and is presently considered a mistake, too expensive, and utter folly. We come from a tradition which proudly asserts that we are a melting pot. We were taught to forget as rapidly as possible that most of us were immigrants.

But with the exception of the American Indian, who has been here long enough to qualify as native--at least ten thousand years and probably longer¹¹--and with the exception of the Afro-American who came here against his will about four

⁸Joseph A. Fisher, "Dialect, Bilingualism, and Reading," in Robert Karlin, ed., *Reading for All* (Newark, Del.: International Reading Association, 1974), p. 87.

⁹Robert C. Gardner and Wallace E. Lambert, *Attitudes and Motivation in Second-Language Learning* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972), pp. 131-32.

¹⁰Abrahams, *Language and Cultural Diversity in American Education*, p. 21.

¹¹Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNickle, *Indians and Other Americans: Two Ways of Life Meet* (New York: Perennial Library, 1970), p. 14.

hundred years ago, all of us are immigrants or descendants of immigrants. Some of us have been here longer than others--the Spanish for about five hundred years--but few of us are as English as our widespread insistence on the use of the language in the schools would indicate. So perhaps it is time to remind ourselves again that our educational system needs to recognize the diverse language backgrounds coming into it so that we can plan our programs around the assets the non-English speaking child brings to school.

For present as well as past feeds into this linguistic stream. During the 1970's, one new American citizen in five is an immigrant; ten years ago, it was one in nine. The 1970's, in fact, are witnessing an influx of immigrants such as this country has not seen since the 1890's, almost one hundred years ago.¹²

A difference between the non-English speaking peoples now and then, however, is that now all groups are more vocal, more aware of the rights which the Constitution of the United States offers its citizens, both native born and naturalized or those about to be naturalized. We as a nation, too, are becoming more willing to recognize our ethical as well as our legal obligations to the people who call this country their home.

So we find ourselves again at a critical point of decision in regard to language and the school: Will we proceed as we have before, disregarding linguistic theories of language learning, and thus lose once again the richness of human resource which lies locked up in a language denigrated because it is not used or understood? Will we continue to bind ourselves to the provincialism of teaching only one language?

Or, will we take advantage of this second chance to become truly bilingual? Will we not become a more united country internally when we understand each other better? Will we not be more effective, stronger, and more highly respected internationally if we understand people whose speech and culture are different from ours?

As an example of our options and their results, let the author contrast the language experiences of a German immigrant family of the 1860's with those of a Vietnamese immigrant family of the 1970's. That part of this is personal is not due to its uniqueness; rather, it is related to you because it was so typical of its time and because it illustrates why we are a monolingual society rather than a bilingual one.

The author has always been grateful to her German grandfather for having the good sense to come to the United States when he did as a young man in the 1860's. By timing his arrival then and by settling where he did, he saved the author much of the culture shock many children from non-English backgrounds have faced in our school system.

When the grandfather arrived, he was a prized piece of goods. He was pressured into stopping off at any one of several cities, but he was not interested in locating in a city which someone else had built. He wanted space in which to build his own city--or at least a town. If he had come thirty years later, the story for both of us would have been quite different.

¹²Thomas Bethell, "Becoming an American," *Newsweek* (May 26, 1975), p. 13.

By the 1890's, cheap or free land had all but disappeared. Also, the United States was experiencing a great need for hands to run factories and mills--not people, just hands. So it was important then for immigrants in the cities to learn the ways socially appropriate to a machine age. Thus schools were consciously structured as if they were factories. People were taught that uniformity was a good thing. They should be on time, perform repetitious tasks, and not question authority.¹³

But in the 1860's, the public relations experts who were on hand to welcome immigrants at the docks were interested in luring them to the West. Some railroads had been built out there, and many more were in the planning stage. Thus settlement of lands in the West was a necessity. As an example of the manner in which immigrants were met, the State of Wisconsin had its legislature send a Commissioner of Emigration to New York as early as 1852 to steer immigrants out that way.¹⁴ The Commissioner was to distribute pamphlets in several languages, hoping the immigrants would come West to develop the state whose Indian name for it meant "place of the gathering waters."¹⁵ Of course, the pamphlet made no reference to the derivation of the name Wisconsin, for that might have frightened off prospective settlers.

Although New York was the place where the author's grandfather landed and where he met his first group of social workers, he eluded them and caught the first hayburner going West. Long before he left Germany he knew why he was going, where he was going, and what he would do when he got there. For days he traveled West to Cincinnati--a good German town, but too crowded--and next to Chicago, but the sooner out of there the better. Subconsciously, grandfather anticipated Upton Sinclair by forty years. At Milwaukee, he was tempted, for he heard his own language, tasted his own kind of food, and saw his own kind of people. But the person he sought was not there, so he went on. However, his trip was almost over, for another two days' journey by coach saw him reunited with his brother in Sheboygan. Together at last, these two young men saw the first part of their dream come true. They were in America! Now they would work to bring about the second part of their dream. They would go still further West and build their own city--or at least a town.

The author's grandfather, as you have guessed, was a romantic of the mid-nineteenth century Germany. Growing up in the aftermath of the Revolution of 1848, he managed to get out of Germany before getting drafted into its army for the Franco-Prussian War in 1870. He remained a pacifist all his life and was never more unpopular nor more incomprehensible to family, friend, and foe than during World War I when the conflict between his two countries seemed utterly senseless to him.

¹³John Bremer, *On Educational Change* (Arlington, Va.: National Association of Elementary School Principals, 1973), pp. 12-14.

¹⁴H. Austin Russell, *The Wisconsin Story* (Milwaukee: The Journal Company, 1948), p. 115.

¹⁵Doris H. Platt, *Wisconsin: A Student's Guide to Localized History* (Columbia University Press, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1965), p. 2.

Young in Hamburg in the 1860's, he and his brother had been captured by the promise of land where even a poor boy could become his own boss and eventually rich and important. But in German real life as in German fairy tales, the older brother set out first to seek his fortune. Two years later the younger brother, the author's grandfather, arrived to find out how things were going and when they would leave for the West. Their journey West did not materialize quite as soon as they had dreamed, of course. Neither had enough money to pay for the trip to the Dakotas, which was several hundred miles further West than they had imagined. Also, they needed some money to pay for the land they wanted, for even though it was cheap, it did cost something. Also, now that they were closer to the Great Plains, they had learned that the land there was hardly safe for a white man, for the Indians who had lived there for centuries were putting up a terrible fight to keep it, trying to preserve for themselves what they felt was theirs as long as the grass should grow.

So there was nothing for the brothers to do but wait. In many respects, waiting was not too bad. Sheboygan was a nice German town with the language, the food, and the people being almost like back home, only better, for this was America, a land of opportunity. Some day their chance to go West would come. In the meantime, they worked as blacksmiths (for each had been so apprenticed in Germany), saved their money, learned some English from people in their church who were willing to teach what they knew of it, married, and had children.

Suddenly, near the end of the 1870's, things changed, and the second part of the dream became possible. The Indians in eastern South Dakota had given up and retreated to reservations west of the Missouri River. Thus land east of the river was open to settlement; the price was low with bonuses of additional acres given free to families who would plant trees on the homestead. So off went the two brothers in the spring of 1880. They left their wives and children to follow a year later on the train, for by that time tracks had been laid which connected Sheboygan, Wisconsin, with Sioux Falls, South Dakota, by way of Milwaukee and Minneapolis. Arriving in Sioux Falls, the women and children were met by their husbands and taken another sixty miles further west out onto the prairie to live in sod shanties. They traveled on stoneboats--planks nailed together and dragged along by teams of horses.

And there it was, out in the middle of the prairie, that the author's grandfather set about to become a rich landowner, founder of a city--or a town--that would bear his name and be a dwelling place for his progeny for generations to come. He could not know at that time, however, that his Old World ideas would not fit the New World into which he brought them. Not only were soil and climate working against him, but so also were politics and economics. For even as he left Germany, the United States government was concluding agreements with Russia to purchase Alaska, which a century later would entice grandfather's great grandchildren to the land of opportunity near the Arctic Circle, just as he earlier had sought the land of opportunity across the Atlantic Ocean.

However, if at any time in his later years he felt disappointment that his city became at best only a tiny village, that his land holdings were in the hundreds of acres rather than in the thousands, grandfather never so indicated. With one exception, his outward life seemed to embrace the best of two countries--Germany and the United States. This one exception was his insistent use of his native language--German. Although he could understand English and though he spoke only English with his grandchildren as they did not know German (the author's father had been emphatic that his children speak and learn only English), the

grandfather never spoke anything except German to his own children. And they never spoke anything except English to him.

Even as a child, when the author would overhear these conversations between father and son in two different languages, it could be sensed that unspoken messages were being conveyed to each other just by the choice of language each used. Each was playing a role; each was sending the other a silent message about the importance of self as transmitted by the words used. Grandfather established his role as senior member of the family and indicated to his son the language he considered superior; father established his independence from his father and asserted his role as an American by speaking only English, as he had been taught in school was the right language to use.¹⁶

Though compulsory attendance at school did not exist when the author's father was a boy, he did attend the country school winters when there was little farm work to do. There he learned English, the state-required language for the school. Consequently, he grew up bilingual. But he, like the other children of the immigrants in the school (and all of them were from immigrant families), responded more fully to the influences of the school than the home. A strong case was not being made at that time to retain the language and customs of the Old World from which these families came. At that time a feeling of nationalism was sweeping over the United States, and none became more vigorous proponents of the melting pot theory than the children of the nineteenth century northern European immigrants. So though all of the children in that country school could speak the language their parents used at home, they eventually switched to speaking only English and, in turn, insisted that their children speak only English. Thus, the author's chance for becoming bilingual in a natural way was lost somewhere early in the twentieth century because of the idea generally accepted in the public school that English was the best language and the only language that one needed to know.

Today, of course, there is no disagreement about the fact that one needs to learn English if he wants economic and social mobility in the United States; no one is more insistent that his child learn English than the parent of one who does not know it. Whether the child should learn English is not the central issue today; rather, the question is how and when should the child learn the language. Also, how about the English-speaking child's learning the other child's language?¹⁷

Most authorities of bilingual education would consider the author's father's generation bilingual in that he was proficient in at least one of the language skills in two or more languages.¹⁸ Actually, he was proficient in two of the four language skills: he could understand two languages, and he could speak them. He

¹⁶Joshua A. Fishman, *Sociolinguistics: A Brief Introduction* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972), pp. 44-46.

¹⁷United States Commission on Civil Rights Clearinghouse, "A Better Chance to Learn: Bilingual Bicultural Education," Publication #51 (Washington, D.C., 1975), p. 2.

¹⁸Andrew D. Cohen, *A Sociolinguistic Approach to Bilingual Education* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1975), pp. 8-12.

did not learn to read or write German, while his father never learned to read and write English.

There was one great difference between the children from non-English speaking families in the early 1900's and those in school today from families in which English is not used at home. Though those earlier children grew up feeling there was something not quite right about speaking German outside their homes, they did not suffer the feelings of inferiority common to so many Spanish-speaking and Native American-speaking children today. During the author's father's school days, his ethnic group was the dominant one in the school--the "in" group. The teacher who spoke English and the two English families living in a nearby village furnishing mercantile services to the farmers were the "out" group at that time, which is just the reverse of the situation in the schools today. In our culture today at school, "... when the groups live and work side by side, the in-group is dominant, and the out-group subservient. Not just for social boundaries, but for rationalizing political and social domination."¹⁹ It is the in-group that controls affairs and that speaks English; the out-group, presently, speaks the other languages.

This explains much of the misunderstanding and hostility evident in many communities about bilingual bicultural education. Angel underscores this idea when he says, "One wonders whether our so-called 'bilingual problem' is not primarily one of equality rather than one of culture."²⁰ He goes on to say that economic factors loom large and that among the minorities in this country, the distance between the classes in America is increasing rather than decreasing. He believes, however, that we could

... use these cultural differences as starting points for developing sensitivity to the feelings of people who are different from us, and that we can do so if we consciously set about to remove from our minds and feelings the obstacles of stereotype, of scapegoats, of discrimination, and of hatred.

Because we, the teachers, will be the prime movers in bringing about this change, we need to take advantage of the insights given us by linguists and sociolinguists as we work with students whose language background is not English. We do have a second chance at achieving bilingualism in our schools. Because all of us can benefit from it--teachers as well as children, "in" groups as well as "out" groups--let us banish some of the ideas which may keep us from working effectively with the immigrant family of 1970.

Conde dispels the idea that bilingualism is confusing to children, one of the objections teachers have had to it. Conde indicates that research demonstrates that bilingualism

... has the capability of facilitating a superior performance on both verbal and nonverbal intelligence tests. It was revealed that the

¹⁹Abrahams, *Language and Cultural Diversity in American Education*, p. 27.

²⁰Frank Angel, "Social Class or Culture? A Fundamental Issue in the Education of Culturally Different Students," in Bernard Spolsky, ed., *The Language Education of Minority Children* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972), p. 37.

wider experiences in two cultures have given the bilingual child "a mental flexibility, a superiority in concept formation," and a more diversified set of mental abilities, in the sense that the patterns of abilities developed by bilinguals were more heterogeneous.²¹

So we turn again to our opportunity to become bilingual as we consider the education of Pham Van Hue. Just one year ago he was one of 130,000 Vietnamese who suddenly found themselves airlifted into a culture and a language very different from their own. Lay as well as religious groups, along with the federal government, sponsored their arrival, looked after them once they were here, and in general made a great effort to soften the culture shock which would inevitably be theirs, as well as ours. Living quarters were found for them, clothing was donated, and jobs were obtained. Psychologists, psychiatrists, linguists, learning specialists of all kinds, gave their views widely to the press and air waves as to how these people could best be assimilated into the American way of living, but along with suggestions for assimilation came something new in the American way of treating the culturally diverse. This "something new" was that the Vietnamese had a culture and a language that was a rich human resource. They should be encouraged to keep it and share it with us, just as we were sharing what we had with them.

This change in attitude toward the culturally different by the white, dominant "in-group" is still the subject of much debate due to guilty conscience feelings. Whatever the reasons for the change in attitude on the part of the American public, the Vietnamese acted as shock therapy upon the entire language outlook of the educational community. For as we were forced to take a new view of the impact of language diversity of one people, we were forced to take a new view of the language diversity of the many, many other groups in our schools--groups that have been waiting much longer for recognition of their language and their customs. Thus, I believe it is not too optimistic for us to expect to see an improvement in language programs for Spanish-speaking and Native American children, as well as those who come from French, Greek, Japanese, Chinese, Italian, and many other language families.

Two thousand Vietnamese, among them the family of Pham Van Hue, settled in the Chicago area, mostly on the far north side of the city. To date, reports indicate that the children of these families are at the top of their classes.

Almost all refugee families have been finding their greatest satisfaction in the astonishing performances of their children in the American educational system. Whether in Texas, California, Minnesota or Chicago itself, early surveys have been showing a consistent pattern of scholastic excellence. . . . First it was achievements in math-related studies, art, science and problem-solving objectives. But now, with half a school year's exposure to English, history and language, these courses have become part of the bright picture as well. "I'd love to have a school full of Vietnamese students," exclaims one Chicago public school principal who has six.²²

²¹David Conde, "Bilingualism, the School, and the Chicano: A Point of View," in Jerry L. Johns, ed., *Literacy for Diverse Learners* (Newark, Del.: International Reading Association, 1974), p. 23.

²²Robert H. Bradford, "The Education of Pham Van Hue," *Chicago Sun-Times* (March 28, 1976), pp. 20-24.

Though much of the success of this immigrant family lies in their respect for education and teachers, credit should also be extended to the teachers who respect the children, their language, and their culture patterns. All during the summer of 1975, the educational system in the United States was busily, almost frantically, preparing for the entry of these children into school in the autumn. Congress appropriated money for special teachers, courses, and curriculum; people throughout the nation volunteered services as tutors in English. The result was an attitude of acceptance on the part of the teachers so that when the children arrived, they were welcome.

This welcoming attitude on the part of the teachers has rubbed off onto the other children in the classroom too, as friends of the author who teach in schools which have children of many ethnic groups relate. They sum it up by saying, "We all get along so well. It is amazing!" It may be amazing if one does not know why it is so, but Quandt explains it well when he says,

A number of studies have shown that a definite relationship exists between teacher attitude toward a child, especially as perceived by the pupil, and pupil self-concept. . . . The teacher is one of the important persons . . . whose opinions the child values, so it is important that the pupil feel accepted by the teacher. One of the best ways to accomplish this goal is to share his interests.²³

Feitelson is even more emphatic in stressing the importance of the teacher's knowing about the child in his environment. She says, "In order to be able to react effectively within a framework of basic differences in cultural background and outlook, the teacher must have experienced these differences firsthand." She continues by quoting Reissman and Hannah:

"Teachers should find out what it is like to eat rice and beans every day on a welfare budget, how it feels to wait five hours in a city clinic before being seen, why a family would choose to have a television set before a second pair of shoes all around."²⁴

With the kind of understanding currently exhibited by teachers, the general public, and the government, we can believe this second time around that we will perform better as a nation than we did earlier in the language training of non-English speaking school children. Not only do we as teachers have a better understanding of the linguistic and cultural nature of this aspect of education, but we also have some legal support which was lacking earlier. Acting in accord with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the United States Supreme Court in *Lau vs. Nichols* declared in 1970 that " . . . all school districts are compelled to provide children who speak little or no English with special language programs which will give them an equal opportunity to an education."²⁵

²³Ivan Quandt, *Self-Concept and Reading* (Newark, Del.: International Reading Association, 1972), p. 18.

²⁴Dina Feitelson, "Training Teachers of Disadvantaged Children," in Ralph C. Staiger and Oliver Andresen, eds., *Reading: A Human Right and a Human Problem* (Newark, Del.: International Reading Association, 1969), p. 14.

²⁵U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Clearinghouse, "A Better Chance to Learn," p. 2.

Thus we can believe that the Vietnamese child, as well as the Spanish child, the Native American, and all other children whose native language is not English, will not have to wait through two generations of trial and error in language acquisition so as to obtain a social and economic mobility equal to their inherent ability. We can believe, too, that their rich heritage will not be lost to us as a nation, but shared with us as we share with them good things of our life. Because they bring four to six years of language learning when they enter school, they have a readiness to speak and listen. We need to use what they bring; we need to begin our language instruction with them in their language. As they acquire the ability to read and write in their own language, they also mix with English-speaking children in such subjects as music, art, mathematics, and physical education. Then, when they are able to speak and listen in English, they can be introduced to reading and writing in English. After they are able to perform satisfactorily in English language skills, they can move into receiving all instruction in English. But this takes time--several years--and we must give the child the time as well as the opportunity to learn the language which he needs for survival in a society where English is the language for mobility.

As discussed elsewhere, we must not forget that bilingual bicultural education is a two-way street.²⁶ A truly bilingual bicultural program in our schools offers an opportunity for English-speaking children to learn other languages and other culture patterns, too. This enables them to not only know there are many people different from them, but also that being different is "what's nice about you." Learning different languages, or at least respect for them and the culture patterns they represent, is a necessity in the education of a child of this century of the Concorde, the Third and Fourth Worlds, and space travel. A necessity, really, for as Archibald MacLeish has so ably put it:

We are all riders on the earth together,
brothers on that bright loveliness
in the eternal cold--
brothers who know now
they are truly brothers.

²⁶Johnson, "Bilingual Bicultural Education: A Two-Way Street," pp. 231-39.

DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS IN THE MULTI-RACIAL CITY

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Historical Perspective

The 1954 Supreme Court decision, *Brown v. Board of Education*, characterized and highlighted the importance of equality of opportunity in education and gave recognition to the concept.

We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. . . . Today, education is perhaps the most important function of State and local government. . . . In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, when the State has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.¹

It is ironic that during America's celebration of its 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence that this "very foundation of a good citizenship" is not available to "all on equal terms."²

While the *Brown* decision made it clear that the doctrine of separate but equal was unconstitutional according to the Fourteenth Amendment, it was not until 1955 that the courts recognized that the implementation of new policies might be difficult. Hence, it required that the change be made "with all deliberate speed."

After the appalling spectacles of New Orleans and Little Rock, Congress acted to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This Act authorized the federal government, among other things, to assist in the dismantling of the dual school systems in the United States. It was not until 1968, however, that the Supreme Court added much to the 1954 decision.

Between the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Court's decision to act in 1968, the *Equality of Educational Opportunity* report came out. This 1966 report supposedly demonstrated statistically that black students learned more in integrated classrooms. It provided a major thrust toward a move for school desegregation.

When the Supreme Court acted in 1968, it reemphasized that it was not enough

¹*Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), pp. 492-93.

²*Ibid.*

to integrate a few individual students who objected to being segregated. Rather, school districts were required to convert from separate systems to a single unitary system of schools. The Court also stated that districts that had practiced segregation had an "affirmative duty" to take whatever steps were necessary to convert to a unitary system. Most importantly, however, it said that the time for "all deliberate speed" had passed. The school boards had to come forward with plans that promised realistically to work, and to work now.³ When in 1969 the Nixon administration joined lawyers for a Southern school board in asking the Court to grant further delays, the Court unanimously and curtly refused.

The 1971 *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* case was the first case where extensive two-way busing (busing of black and white students) was ordered to insure that every school district had approximately the same ratios of blacks in every school.⁴ The order resulted in black children being bused to suburban schools and white suburban children being bused to inner city schools. The case was important because it pointed out that bus transportation had been an integral part of the public school system "and is" an accepted tool of educational policy.

There were other noteworthy aspects about the *Swann* decision that are particularly relevant to the issue of school desegregation in the North. First, the system used in Charlotte, North Carolina, schools was to assign pupils to schools nearest their homes, a common Northern method. The district had not gerrymandered attendance zones to avoid integration. It is also important to note that the Court made no serious effort to show a causal connection between the earlier segregation and the present imbalance. Rather, it announced that once past discrimination had been proven, the burden was on the school district to prove that present segregation was not caused by past segregation. It was made crystal clear that the school district was required to take extreme steps, if necessary, to eradicate the segregated patterns. This meant that a total sweeping integration of formerly segregated school districts, with the race of children as a primary criterion of reassignment, was called for.

It was also interesting to note that the one issue the *Swann* case refused to address itself to was an issue of great significance in the North. If a school district has behaved in an entirely non-discriminatory way but its schools are segregated because of the housing policies pursued by governmental agencies, such as housing authorities, zoning boards, and courts that twenty-five years ago enforced restrictive covenants, must the school district take steps to eliminate the resulting segregation in its schools? If the answer is affirmative, it becomes even more difficult if the cause was the federal government acting through the Federal Housing Administration. For years the FHA used its power over the housing market to enforce the "homogeneous neighborhood concept." That concept, needless to say, meant residential segregation.

The Supreme Court in 1954 ruled that governmentally enforced school segregation violated the Fourteenth Amendment and that separate educational facilities were inherently unequal. While the immediate impact was upon the Southern and border states that had compelled segregation in the public schools, the decision also heightened concern all across the nation. Now, twenty-two years after that decision, the majority of American children continue to attend

³*Green v. New Kent County School Board*, 391 U.S. 430 (1968).

⁴*Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, 402 U.S. 1 at 16 (1971).

schools that are largely segregated.

Between 1940 and 1960, there was a population increase in metropolitan areas across the nation. This increase of population, however, was accompanied by an increasing separation of the races. Whites had their own neighborhoods within the city and eventually started to move to the suburbs as blacks began to "encroach" on their territory. This resulted in a startling number of black children being left in the central city schools while many white children lived in the suburbs and went to neighborhood schools.

The racial isolation spoken of above is rooted in not just one cause, but many. Racial discrimination itself has been sanctioned and even encouraged by the federal government at all levels. It has been perpetuated by the effects of past segregation, reinforced by demographic, fiscal, and educational changes taking place in urban areas, and compounded by the policies and practices of urban school systems.

The discriminatory practices of the housing industry have been key factors in confining the poor and nonwhites to the cities. For years, and even now to some extent, the federal government's housing policy was openly discriminatory, largely attuned to the housing needs of the relatively affluent white American, and inadequate to reverse the trend toward racial separation in metropolitan areas.⁵

The authority of local governments to decide on building permits, inspection standards, and the location of sewer and water facilities has been used in some instances to discourage private builders from providing housing on a non-discriminatory basis. The power of eminent domain and suburban zoning and land-use requirements have been devices used to keep blacks from settling in all-white communities. Racial zoning ordinances, although declared unconstitutional in 1917, were enforced in some communities as late as the 1950's. Although racially restrictive covenants have not been judicially enforceable since 1948, they are still used, and the housing patterns they helped create continue to exist.

Increasing disparities in wealth have reinforced the separation between city and suburban populations. When geographic zoning is used to determine school attendance areas and is coupled with residential segregation in the cities and suburbs, racial segregation in the schools is inevitable.

Overview of the Issues

Segregation has caused concern for racial justice for many Americans, and that concern has focused on recent efforts to advance school desegregation. Various models of interracial education have been proposed as alternatives to generations of separatism and inequality in schools, thus the increased interest in planning for school change, particularly concerning the racial mix of students and teachers.

Unfortunately, desegregation has received priority consideration only in those school districts where the courts have ordered it. This has and may continue to

⁵U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Isolation in the Schools*, 1967, p. 33.

cause problems, but it is necessary where school systems refuse to reorganize themselves to present equal educational opportunity to all of its students, regardless of race.

Given the character of community groupings, there is bound to be some *de facto* segregation caused by the socioeconomic factors. This, however, is compounded by *de jure* segregation when school systems fail to take affirmative steps to correct such factors as boundary lines which reinforce racial segregation. School systems further enhance racial isolation by providing easy transfers out of central city schools for white children, by employing personnel practices that limit the number of minority persons in classrooms and administrative positions, and otherwise assigning personnel in such a way as to limit minority input into the decision-making process.

Desegregation, the physical mixing of students of different racial and ethnic groups, has been the primary focal point of racial change in schools. Desegregation plans have concentrated mainly on technical problems, such as restructuring the racial composition of students within a given school through such means as busing, magnet schools, teacher-administrator exchanges, and so forth.

Many problems and issues must be studied and resolved concerning the implementation of desegregation. Some of the problems and issues include:

1. Residential patterns.
2. Student resegregation along racial and ethnic lines.
3. Resolving underlying feelings and fears.
4. Staff preparation.
5. Financing.
6. Institutional and covert racism.
7. Developing programs to support desegregation (in-service training of school/community and curriculum reform).
8. Mandatory busing.
9. Minority representation in schools.
10. Measuring and evaluating effectiveness of programs.
11. Developing procedures and practices for community input.⁶

There are many more problems and issues.

Desegregation must speak to the comprehensiveness and pervasive nature of the problem. It must, then, deal with the reinforcement patterns of racism, low quality education, and the need for change in teacher, administrator, student, community, school board, and curricular aspects of the system. Desegregation plans must intently concentrate on high quality, racially integrated education, which is something that planners heretofore have not been addressing with emphasis.

Desegregation planning then must make provisions for providing an educational environment which encourages academic and human growth for all students, not just the physical movements of children and/or rearrangement of school district boundaries. Systems must be designed to eliminate racism in American schools, build a quality academic program, and establish a means of building viable

⁶Kathleen Smith, ed., *Desegregation/Integration* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1974), pp. 73-76.

interpersonal relations among the various racial and ethnic groups. Effective desegregation planning requires a thorough understanding of the political processes at the local, state, and federal levels; knowing the funding procedures within each of the aforementioned levels; and acquiring knowledge of the resources and experiences of a variety of people. Desegregation planning is complex and bares many hidden agendas that must be dealt with. To be effective requires cooperation from top school and city administrators, the school board, students, faculty, and community resources (human, physical, and financial), used not only in the planning stage, but also in the implementation phase. Having community people involved in the school may help dissolve tensions inherent in meeting people perceived to be different.

The legal and administrative foundations must be adhered to, but desegregation planning must consider the resources offered by the community in the development of children.

Legal and Administrative Foundations of Desegregation and Desegregation Planning

The public school system of the United States is undergoing a mandated change. Many of the schools are changing from a dual system of education to a unitary system of education. The legal decisions for and against the two systems of education originate and relate to several events and situations that occurred prior to the *Brown* cases of 1954 and 1955. The language that is associated with these cases include such terms and processes as segregation, desegregation, and integration. They emerge, more specifically, as a result of the higher education cases as well as the *Brown* cases of 1954 and 1955. The Supreme Court decisions not only declared that separate but equal schools were unconstitutional because they violated the Fourteenth Amendment, but required the lower courts to initiate a reasonable and prompt compliance in accord with its 1954 ruling. The objective here, with respect to this Court-mandated change from a dual to a unitary system of education, is to establish the legal and administrative foundations of desegregation and desegregation plans.

The first great foundation for desegregation and desegregation plans derives from the two *Brown* decisions of 1954 and 1955. In 1954, the Court stated and answered the question before it:

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe it does.⁷

The Court moreover declared that:

... In the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place. Separated educational facilities are inherently unequal.⁸

⁷The Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, United States Senate, *Selected Court Decisions Relating to Equal Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 6-7.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 7.

The need for desegregation plans are self-evident or inherent in this decision, since, if one is to change from a dual system of education to a unitary one, plans of some kind would be required. It can be concluded that desegregation and desegregation plans are implied in the 1954 decision. But the language of the 1954 remedy is more than just implicit about desegregation and desegregation plans.

The Court in 1954 declared that racial discrimination in public education was unconstitutional because it violated the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court in 1955 declared in part of its remedy that the lower federal district courts would carry out its 1954 ruling:

The burden rests upon the defendants to establish that such time is necessary in the public interest and consistent with good faith compliance at the earliest predictable date. To that end, the courts may consider problems related to administration, arising from the physical condition of the school plant, the school transportation system, personnel, revision of school districts and attendance areas into compact units to achieve a system of determining admission to the public schools on a nonracial basis, and revision of local laws and regulations which may be necessary in solving the foregoing problems.⁹

Such language can only be construed to mean the development of desegregation plans. In this respect, the Court used the key word for the first time when it declared further that the lower courts "will also consider the adequacy of any plans the defendants may propose to meet these problems and effectuate a transition to a racially non-discriminatory school system."¹⁰ We therefore conclude that the language of the two *Brown* cases note implicitly and explicitly the necessity for desegregation and desegregation plans to remedy the violation of the Fourteenth Amendment in the public schools.

The second legal and administrative foundation of desegregation and desegregation plans is sought in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Titles of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 encompassed a number of areas besides education: voting rights, public accommodation, desegregation of public facilities, the Civil Rights Commission, equal employment opportunities, Community Relations Services, and a few other activities.¹¹ Title IV of the Civil Rights Act related to the desegregation of public education, and Title VI related to the prohibition of discrimination in programs assisted by the federal government. These two titles promoted the potential for desegregation and desegregation plans beyond the nearly non-existent change in desegregation since 1954.^{12, 13, 14} Title IV provided

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Congressional Quarterly, *Revolution in Civil Rights 1945-1968* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1968), pp. 62-65.

¹²U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Title IV and School Desegregation* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973).

¹³Michael W. Kirst and Frederick M. Wirt, *The Political Web of American Schools* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1972).

¹⁴David L. Kirp and Mark G. Yudof, *Educational Policy and the Law* (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1974).

for a conciliatory and coercive approach to desegregation and desegregation plans. The conciliatory approach "authorized the Office (of Education) to give technical and financial assistance, if requested, to local public school systems planning on going through the process of desegregation."¹⁵ Thus, in detail, the assistance would be:

1. Technical assistance in the form of information on effective methods of coping with special problems arising out of desegregation, or making available Office of Education or other personnel equipped to handle such problems;
2. Arrangements, through grants or contracts, with colleges and universities for special institutes to train school personnel to deal with desegregation problems, and payment of stipends to those who attend the institutes on a full time basis;
3. Grants to school boards to pay for the cost of giving school personnel special training or employing specialists.¹⁶

So, through the conciliatory part of Title IV, funds would be provided to aid in desegregation, as well as to prepare and implement desegregation plans. The aid could be solicited by universities for desegregation training institutes and desegregation centers. The department of public instruction at the state level as well as local school boards could solicit aid for technical assistance dealing with desegregation and desegregation plans.

The conciliatory approach of Title IV was only one of the mechanisms of the Title that fostered desegregation and desegregation plans. For the first time in the history of Civil Rights legislation, the Title:

Authorized the Attorney General to file suit for the desegregation of public schools and colleges if he received a signed complaint, believes that the complaint is meritorious, and certifies that the aggrieved individuals are unable to initiate and maintain legal proceedings, and that the action would "materially further" orderly school desegregation; provided that the suit may be filed only after he has notified the local school board or college authority of the complaint and given them a reasonable time to adjust the conditions.¹⁷

Thus, Title IV fosters desegregation and desegregation plans by means of its conciliatory approach of providing funds, and by means of its coercive approach of filing a lawsuit by the Attorney General.

Title VI also promotes desegregation and desegregation plans. As with a part of Title IV, it is coercive, not conciliatory, since it cuts off federal funds to programs that do not comply with the non-discriminatory stipulation. The Title mandated three kinds of actions:

¹⁵Congressional Quarterly, *Revolution in Civil Rights, 1945-1968* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1968), p. 62.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 63.

1. Barred discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal assistance against any person because of his race, color or natural origin.
2. Directed each federal department or agency extending financial assistance to any program or activity through grants, loans or most kinds of contracts, except contracts of insurance or guaranty, to issue rules or regulations, to be approved by the President, to carry out the purpose of this title.
3. Required that to enforce the title, agencies must first seek voluntary compliance, but if it is not forthcoming, authorized the agencies, after making a finding on the record and giving opportunity for a hearing, and after giving the appropriate legislative committees 30 days notice, to cut off the federal program involved from the particular recipient or political entity involved.¹⁸

Thus two mechanisms fostering desegregation and desegregation plans used financial assistance to conciliate as well as to coerce desegregation under Titles IV and VI. Furthermore, the coercive mechanism in Title IV was the use or threat of a lawsuit. Administrative desegregation guidelines for developing and implementing plans grew out of Title VI. Thus, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) was responsible for the two mechanisms that involved financial assistance, while the Department of Justice was responsible for the lawsuit mechanism of enforcement or coercion. Thus, in combination with the *Brown* court decisions and the two Congressional Civil Rights Titles of 1964, in addition to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (which provided federal funding for disadvantaged school children), teeth were embedded in the desegregation efforts.

The legal and administrative foundation of desegregation and desegregation plans is sought in a third area: the rules, regulations, and guidelines for desegregation and desegregation plans developed by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provided the directive for HEW's regulations and guidelines. Part of Title VI "directed each federal agency or department extending financial assistance through grants, loans or most kinds of contracts to issue rules or regulations, to be approved by the President, to carry out the purposes of the Title."¹⁹ In accord with the Title, HEW formulated and published its regulations in 1964:

They stipulated that elementary or secondary schools or school systems would be deemed to have satisfied the requirements of Title VI if the school or school system: (1) was subject to a U.S. court order for desegregation and provided assurance that it would comply with the order, including any future modifications, or (2) submitted a desegregation plan, which would be approved by the commissioner of education as being adequate to accomplish the purpose of the Civil Rights Act, and provided "reasonable assurance that it will carry out such a plan. . . ." ²⁰

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 92.

²⁰*Ibid.*

These stipulations were elaborated and extended in a statement of policy in 1965, which constituted the basic desegregation guidelines for implementing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

This statement on desegregation guidelines noted that Title VI prohibited federal financial assistance to any dual system or segregated system of education based on race. It noted, too, that such systems of education would be required to eliminate its discriminatory practices based on race in order to continue to receive financial assistance. The guidelines further stated:

Every school system beginning desegregation must provide for a substantial good faith start on desegregation starting with the 1965-1966 school year, in light of the 1967 target date. The statement stipulated that such a "good faith start" should provide that desegregation would extend to a minimum of four grades (or five grades in certain school systems) for the 1965-1966 school year. The statement said "the grades covered must include the first and any other lower grade, the first and last high school grades, and the lowest grade of junior high where schools are so organized."²¹

The guidelines, moreover, provided three methods of compliance with the policy statement noted above: formal assurance statement of compliance, court orders compliance, and compliance by submission of desegregation plans. In order to remain eligible for financial assistance, one was required to sign a form assuring HEW that federal financial assistance would not be used in any discriminatory manner with respect to race. In order to remain eligible for financial assistance, one was required to file a court desegregation order mandating desegregation, as well as a formal assurance statement of intent to carry out the order. The third way to remain eligible for federal assistance required the submission of desegregation plans providing for pupil transfers, assignments, and reassignment in combination with freedom of choice granted to students or their parents. Thus, these HEW guidelines for desegregation and desegregation plans derive from the directive of Title VI.

The origins of Title IV and VI are imbedded in the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Reports and the 1963 Civil Rights Legislation Planning Group appointed by the U.S. Commissioner of Education.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was established in 1957, but did not make its first report until 1959. The 1959 report dealt with housing and voting, in addition to education. It made several recommendations on education, having to do with desegregation and desegregation plans:

1. The Commission should be authorized to serve as a clearinghouse for information on ways in which school districts have moved toward integration.
2. It should be authorized to establish an advisory and conciliation service to assist local officials in developing school integration plans and to mediate and conciliate, upon request, disputes as to proposed plans and their implementation.
3. The Government should conduct an annual school census "that will show the number and race of all students enrolled in all public educational

²¹ *Ibid.*

institutions, in order to assist further study of segregation in education."²²

Thus, some of the ideas and language articulated first in 1959 would later become part of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which dealt with school desegregation and desegregation plans.

The second Civil Rights Commission Report was given in 1961. Again, it included other areas besides education: voting, housing, employment, and justice. Again, much of the language and ideas articulated in the recommendations on education were incorporated eventually in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Five of the twelve recommendations made by the Commission are listed below since they relate to the legal and administrative foundation of desegregation and desegregation plans:

1. Congress should require any local school board that maintains a racially segregated school to file a *desegregation* plan with a designated federal agency within six months; require that the plan call for first-step complete desegregation as soon as practicable thereafter. The Attorney General would be directed to enforce the obligation.
2. Congress should authorize cutting off up to 50 percent of *federal education aid* in states practicing school segregation.
3. Congress should "consider the advisability" of adopting measures to expedite the hearing and final determination of *desegregation suits* brought in the federal courts.
4. Congress should authorize the Government to provide on request, within five years after the initiation of a local desegregation program: *financial aid* on a 50-50 matching basis for employment of experienced workers in desegregation problems and training of school personnel; *technical assistance* to schools or citizens' groups for training in techniques useful in solving desegregation problems, including home study programs for the "academically and culturally handicapped."
5. Congress should authorize federal *loans to local school districts* from which state or local financial support, or authority to borrow, had been cut off as a result of desegregating the districts' schools.²³

The third Civil Rights Commission Report was issued in 1963. Again, it dealt with other issues besides education: voting, employment, housing, justice, health facilities and services, urban areas, the armed forces, the emancipation report, and Mississippi Funds. Again, it made recommendations on education having to do with desegregation and desegregation plans:

1. That Congress enact legislation requiring all segregated school districts to adopt a desegregation plan within 90 days, and authorizing the Attorney General to institute legal action if a district fails to adopt or implement a plan.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 15.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 16.

2. That Congress authorize the Civil Rights Commission to provide technical and financial assistance to school districts attempting to deal with problems stemming from segregation or desegregation.

3. That the President call a White House Conference on equal opportunities in education.

4. That Congress amend the urban renewal law to remove the requirements that a school built in a renewal area must draw 80 percent of its students from the renewed area in order to receive credit against its required contribution (on the grounds that this requirement discouraged local policies to promote racially balanced schools).²⁴

Again some of the language and ideas of those recommendations were incorporated in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, especially Titles IV and VI.

The fourth Civil Rights Commission Report (1965) did not address the issue of education, but its 1966 Reports did. In respect to school integration, "the Civil Rights Commission Feb. 16 issued a report on compliance of seventeen Southern and border states with the school desegregation provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."²⁵ The Commission found very little compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Two of its findings follow:

1. That under freedom of choice procedures, by which both white and Negro children purportedly were free to choose their school, little integration resulted. The reasons for that development, the Commission said, included inertia in both the white and Negro communities and fear of reprisal among Negroes if they transferred to a white school. Few white pupils elected to transfer to Negro schools, it was found. . . .

2. That the Office of Education lacked the staff and procedures in 1965 to monitor effectively implementation of the desegregation provisions of the Act. The Office, the Commission said, accepted at face value what school districts said they were doing and made little effort to investigate what school districts were doing in fact.²⁶

The report, moreover, recommended certain procedures. There were thirteen recommendations; however, three were important in relation to desegregation. The recommendations were (1) that the Office (of Education) tighten its procedures; (2) that Congress enact a law empowering the Attorney General as well as victims to bring civil actions to enjoin persons from intimidating or harassing Negro parents and children seeking to exercise their rights under desegregation plans approved by the Office, and the Commission also recommended that the Office consider letting contracts to education or legal experts to review proposed desegregation plans and suggest modifications.²⁷ Again, some of the language and

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 21.

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷*Ibid.*

ideas of the reports were incorporated in the 1964 Civil Rights Act in the revised regulations and desegregation guidelines.

Not only were the Civil Rights Reports important foundations for ideas about desegregation and desegregation plans before and after the 1964 Act, the 1963 Civil Rights Legislation Planning Group was another source of ideas for the 1964 Act.²⁸ Its task was to make recommendations as to how best to implement Title IV. It made several recommendations that influenced the Title: community participation in the desegregation process; technical assistance to focus on problems likely to be encountered in the desegregation of education; technical assistance in developing pupil transportation plans, class assignment, and pupil guidance, and improving human relations in the community.

The two *Brown* cases, the Civil Rights desegregation regulations of 1964 and the Civil Rights guidelines of 1965 and their subsequent revisions, the U.S. Commission of Education Civil Rights Reports, and the Commissioner of Education Civil Rights Legislation Planning Group of 1963 establish the legal and administrative foundations of desegregation and desegregation planning. These documents and events substantially establish the basic legal and administrative foundations of desegregation and desegregation plans.

A MODEL FOR PLANNING, DESIGN, AND MANAGEMENT OF DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES

Abstract

It is proposed that an ethnic human factors and systems approach be defined and applied to planning, design, and management of desegregation programs. As used here, an ethnic human factors and systems approach amounts to understanding the interactive and interrelated factors which contribute to learning, educational development, performance, and community organization. The emphasis is not to simply comprehend such factors as isolated parts, but to analyze them as a coordinated and integrated systems process. Moreover, the notion is to understand human capabilities in desegregation and integration and to design and plan programs which complement the human ability to organize itself in a multi-ethnic setting. It is suggested as fact that these program and design features, which are compatible with human capability and ability, will lead to a greater enhancement in learning, performance, and desegregation of schools and communities. The model proposal is developed from the principles of ethnic science and its applied study of cultural human factors design of neighborhoods, communities, and schools and how desegregation plans should consider the human element of performance, learning, culture, ethnic distinctions, and maturation as differentials among and between grade levels in technical plan development. The school system represents a developmental fact often ignored in current desegregation efforts by failing to consider the life-span realities which schools reflect. The following plan is a technical-legal approach to establish such developmental and life-span realities into the formation of a comprehensive community-school desegregation plan. The

²⁸U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Title IV and School Desegregation* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973).

procedure is to establish the behavioral environmental requirements and the physiological self-control processes as these self-governed processes can be aided and complemented by the child's parents, peers, teachers, schools, and communities and by special developmental and educational devices, situations, and procedures. The plan further acknowledges that differentials exist not simply between grades within a school, but that differentials in ethnic human factors needs exist between schools, in different communities, and formulates design principles in which desegregation efforts can reflect such needs. The main emphasis of the model plan is the preservation of the ethnic racial community by developing the school as a self-determined resource for the integration of neighborhood cultures of Chicano, Indian, and black communities, and to limit busing as a technique which prevents positive patterns of organization of these distinct communities. Current efforts tend to disrupt neighborhoods and foster conflict between ethnic groups due to the lack of human factors consideration in desegregation plans. The proposed differential plan does not disfavor the legal requirement for busing directly; it simply outlines the legal-technical procedures for ensuring its implementation without disadvantaging the ethnic racial community in the process. The aim is to establish facts about human social development and thus to plan requirements for designing and management of desegregation programs as required by law, and as these may provide for equality of educational opportunity. Moreover, the plan is a national model for preventing, eliminating, and reducing disputes and conflict between groups and a technical method of mediation in school-community desegregation problems.

Introduction

It is an established fact that behavioral and human adjustments to compliance with Civil Rights laws in education and schools has created difficulty, disorganization, and conflict in the United States communities and among groups (C.R.S. Report, 1971). These disruptions and disputes are due to the inability of certain ethnic racial and cultural groups to make adjustments to the new patterns of interaction now required in social relationships under the law and the poor technical design of desegregation plans to aid successful community-school integration. The discussion and plans which exist currently to remedy these design problems lack the systems application and theoretical approach to understanding the complexity which surrounds human ethnic cultural organization and the behavioral human resources needs of the community and schools in physical racial integration, the details of which have resulted in the lack of human factors consideration for planning, design, and management of desegregation programs. This lack of human factors consideration is reflected in violence, community disputes, and added cost to taxpayers in establishing and maintaining desegregation efforts. The current need is for the development of desegregation plans and designs which meet the legal requirements for remedies and compliance integrated with the social-cultural capabilities and needs of the school in meeting community expectations. This amounts to a management concern of establishing self-governed controls at each community level, which acknowledges the school as the main resource for integrating the young child and student into the large human settlement, and which formulates a developmental process for the orderly transition and interaction of communities as future multi-ethnic or multi-cultural learning resources.

An additional difficulty with current desegregation efforts is due to the profound nature and directive of the law regulating community-school integration. Within history, the human settlement has evolved as a self-governed and

self-directed process of humans selecting their own involvements and interrelationships, with few laws directly determining social relations and human interaction affairs. The current legal directives insist and demand integration of percentages, numbers, and ratios as an external control element, with limited attention devoted to the cultural and ethnic tendencies of communities which serve as foundations for positive human development of children and adults. The current busing law will continue to reflect weaknesses until scientific principles of ethnic cultural interaction can be provided which indicate the behavioral needs of communities and groups which can be utilized in establishing new patterns of interaction. The problems of ethnic differentiation and integration in schools and communities are systems problems and must be studied and dealt with by systems knowledge and systems science. They involve not simply interaction of individuals, but interaction of people in complex institutional arrangements--educational, legal, governmental, and community settings and designs. The events of cultural integration, racial discrimination, racism, and cultural development are as much products of the institutional and organizational settings and designs as they are of the direct behaviors of particular people and groups (Smith, 1974). One of the emerging facts now recognized in human factors science is that cultural attitudes and behavior are rationalized more or less directly in terms of the institutional, operational, and community designs and settings (Smith, 1974). In this respect, the desegregation plan should reflect an attempt to improve design settings which foster multi-ethnic attitudes and behaviors. The continuation of cultural disputes in desegregation efforts consist of various types of systems interactions which can be understood, controlled, and adjusted by technical knowledge, designs, and operations. This paper deals with the analysis of research on, management of, and planning for improved adjustment of desegregation systems design and operations. The actual program and plan is based on the stages of social-educational development of the young child and student and how desegregation efforts should complement and aid such development. The underlying principle of this plan is that learning is primarily a social process founded on mutual social tracking between parent, child, and student integrated with the community through the process of schooling and education. It further asserts that differential features of learning and maturation develop in the child and student at different age levels and culturally in different communities. The claim is that equality of educational opportunity should be based on the above differentials and the human factors needs of each community being considered in desegregation plan development. It is proposed that a plan exist for each grade level and community so that human cultural elements of race, sex, and bilingual-bicultural problems are projected as developmental and differential systems solutions in the plan.

The differential plan for each grade and community level is designed to: (1) provide equal educational opportunity and equal access to educational resources, (2) to strengthen the resources of economically alienated communities by developing human and physical resources within the community, (3) to provide greater self-governance and self-management over the direction and integration of school-community resources by neighborhood community residents, (4) to develop the school as a resource for the integration of ethnic cultural interest and motivation as an effort to reduce and minimize disputes between groups and community institutional resources. The above purposes and goals of the differential plan are starting points for formulating the important systems factors upon which the plan is developed (Figure 1). Such systems factors are considered as significant boundaries for understanding the developmentally oriented processes by which the individual and group develop in relation to other groups and individually as members of the social cultural groups. The above purposes and systems factors are

also integrated with environmental-spatial features of design of how the school is organized to promote an orientation in relation to such designs (Figure 2). A summary of these systems factors and important features explain the notions of the development of the child and student in relation to parents and extended at the beginning of schooling to teachers. The role of the teacher is suggested to be one of developing an extended orientation of the child to community resources and community government resources. The efficiency and effectiveness of the systems orientation is related to the manner in which the environmental setting of the school promotes cultural self-regulation on the part of each student. The above notions and factors are developed from an ethnic science method of analysis and theory which seeks to explain how things are organized and controlled and how things are tied together. It is upon this basis that we design a plan to promote both the need for ethnic cultural integration and positive human development through social interaction. The theory for the above idea is a social tracking articulation of the human factors capabilities of the child and student for learning, social interaction, cultural development, and performance. It is a further assertion of how plans should be designed to fit these capabilities so that the human developmental process and tendencies are not disrupted and destroyed at the expense of promoting desegregation. The overall attempt of this new concept in desegregation planning is to promote the idea that human cultural and ethnic design is an interactive phenomena with educational design. It recognizes that learning and adaptation to new situations proceeds in a developmental context wherein its course is defined not only by the features of human ethnic and cultural design, but also by the developmental progress and opportunity for appropriate social-sensory experience at critical stages. Thus, valid principles of desegregation planning must encompass some understanding of the development-learning interaction within and between ethnic groups and cultures, the understanding of which leads to the conclusion that busing as a desegregation technique when available should not occur under any circumstances until after the age of twelve. The basis for this is argued from the foundations of social tracking and its interpretation of the social maturational levels of children and students of developing in relation to a distinct community and distinct ethnic orientations upon which all later development is based, disruption of which is suggested to severely limit the social-educational development of the child before the age of twelve.

Foundations of the Model Plan

The crux of desegregation planning is the human factors design issue. Human design permeates all questions involved in the desegregation of the community and school. It involves and concerns books, instruction, curriculum, social processes, management and administration tools of education, community resources, parents, etc. Human factors design is the activity and process of fitting or tailoring resources to match the capability of the human who must use it. If the social situation is properly designed, it will promote and enhance positive relations and interactions. If it is poorly designed, then we can expect errors and negative interactions in the human relationship. The issue of human factors design in desegregation programs is a problem of fitting the resources of the school to match the needs of the child, student, and community for equal opportunity. The school must be thought of as a system in which the child and student are the central factors to be accommodated.

Cultural or ethnic human factors studies are derived from the principles of

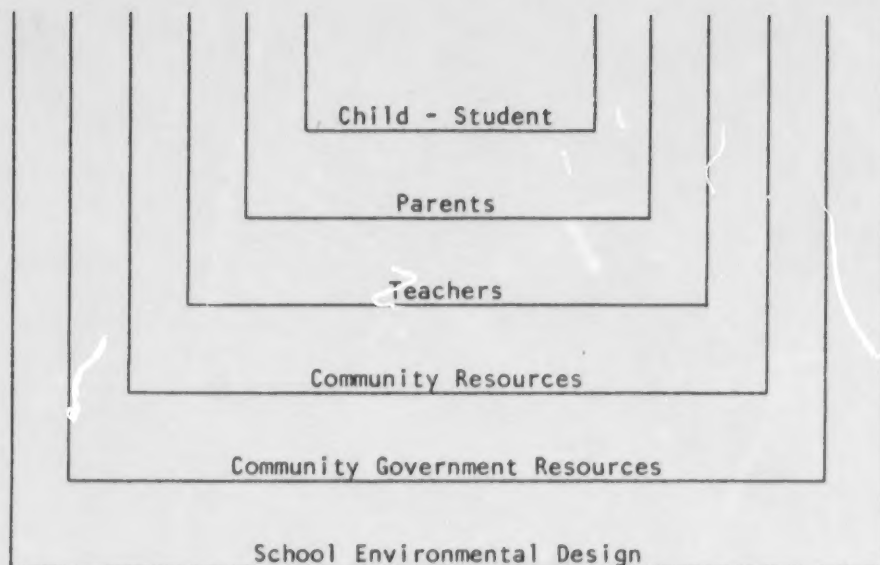


Figure 1. Systems factors in desegregation plan development.

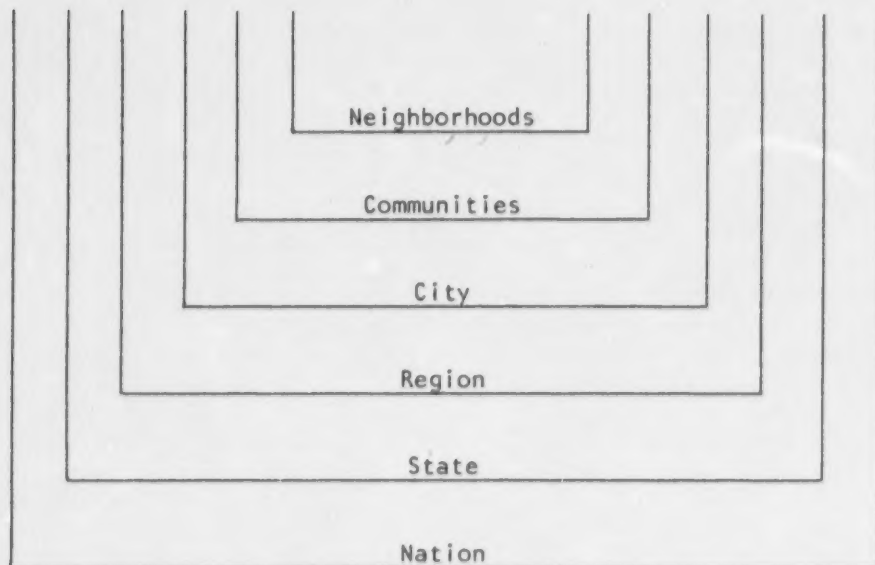


Figure 2. Environmental spacial factors in education and desegregation.

social cybernetics and social feedback control involved in human development. The basic principles state that the design of the social setting will determine performance and the degree with which an individual or group will follow the patterns of another (Smith, 1975). In the study of social performance, social tracking or social cybernetic theory focuses on aspects of the social interaction which enhances positive adjustment of ethnic groups to each other (Sauter, 1976). Such adjustments are directly dependent on the degree of influence each group will have over the other in determining the organization of the interaction to achieve a task or to carry out an activity (Smith, 1975).

The Concept of Human Cultural and Ethnic Factors in Desegregation Planning

Human factors applied to ethnic science and desegregation planning is consistent with an established learning fact (Smith, 1973) that good human design for human learning, performance, and interaction can outweigh and negate all but the most marked or extreme intrinsic sources of variation in human ability; the most limited and disabled persons can find a significant role if their opportunities and resources are enhanced and optimized by positive human designs. Human factors science is concerned with the efficiency with which individuals regulate their own resources in relation to institutions, organizations, or other individuals. The assumption as applied to desegregation is that organizational, institutional, or design characteristics influence how individuals operate and function in a self-controlled and efficient manner. Further, the human factors approach assumes that human capabilities should not be manipulated to conform to a set of circumstances, but rather it is more efficient to tailor designs to meet the requirements of human performance and systems goals. Human interactions in education, work, or activity processes are considered systems relationships. These relationships form a closed-loop arrangement in which changes in one element produce changes in another (Meister, 1971). Human factors science can then be considered a systems development discipline with the ultimate goal of human factors theory, research, and practice to influence system development (Meister, 1971). The major concern of ethnic science in desegregation is to develop systems designs which reflect the multi-cultural and multi-racial characteristics of the society. Human factors analysis of current social and institutional design as it reflects ethnic racial needs suggests that cultural themes are ignored and distorted in many sectors of human organization, with the exception of certain areas of sports, music, and fashion in which the ethnic racial individual has influence in limited ways. The lack of equality in design contributes to errors in ethnic racial conduct, performance, development, and efficient interaction. Meister (1971) suggests that error is not inevitable or the consequence of human fallibility; the assumption is made that error occurs when conditions predispose the human to make the error exist. The human arrangement incompatible with cultural, developmental, and self-regulatory processes can serve to distort the true potential and abilities of the ethnic racial individual. Smith (1966) indicates that people are motivated to learn those patterns of behavior that fit their culture or their social group. It is generally more difficult to adapt to things which are totally removed from your behavior than to factors which conform to past behaviors and patterns.

Ethnic human factors science addresses itself to the individual, ethnic behavioral, social, and cultural processes of self-regulation and self-determination of individuals as systems phenomena and interaction in which analysis and application of human design principles promote ethnic racial development and minority-majority adjustment to one another. The objective is to enhance ethnic behavioral and

performance effectiveness in the use of integrated tools, institutions, facilities, and to maintain positive cultural values in this process. These values can be maintained through consideration for future systems development. A basic process in the development of human factors designs is in bringing meaning to the concept of culture in social science and education. Although this concept has been used on a wide scale, its systems interaction mechanisms and processes have not been defined in concrete scientific terms. Smith (1973) states that culture constitutes the systems interactions and relations, not only between individuals and groups, but also between dynamic behavior of individuals or groups and the design features of tools, machines, materials, processes, operations, and functions of institutions and organizations which make up the social environment. The principal concern is that human factors non-compliance in human social organization be analyzed in terms of their effect on development, learning, performance, child care, family life, work factors, and organization of ethnic groups and individuals.

The aim of human factors design from an ethnic perspective is to develop feedback arrangements which allow the ethnic individual to optimize control of particular operations in social situations. A dominant function in human systems in adjusting, adapting, and bringing about changes in the environment is the ability to level control and influence over physical-social circumstances. The nature of this process is predetermined by the features of the system as they reflect ethnic, cultural, and social design considerations for self-regulation.

Organization of The Plan

The proposed plan is a formal systems concept of educational design which asserts that education is a continual life-long process of developing more and more complex organized levels of self-control of the social and economic environment and that the differential plan should be an orderly transition from one level of interaction to another by the projection of desegregation over time as reflected in the existing make-up of the school. Each level of schooling, from the very earliest years of infancy, has critical feedback and developmental relations with successively more complex sectors of the social and economic environment such as the home, neighborhood, city, and nation. The plan is organized to take advantage of the developing complexity of schooling by suggesting the involvement of appropriate social-sensory experiences to acquaint the child and student with other existing communities and to project a future interaction with others from those communities.

The meaning of this cultural/community concept of education and the differential considerations in desegregation planning is illustrated generally in Figures 3, 4, 5, and 6. Figure 3 points to the differential educational and economic levels of control in various communities and the need for consideration of such control in desegregation of education, particularly in instances where busing of human resources away from the community tend toward assisting the continued economic deterioration of the neighborhood and community. Figure 4 suggests that educational levels, the infraschool (i.e., base parent-child school), grade school, middle school, high school, college, and technical school and the university and professional school, represent institutional resources that define the course and levels of social development of the individual and of different sectors of the community. When schools are defined in real-life terms, these levels of schooling also reflect and impart to students

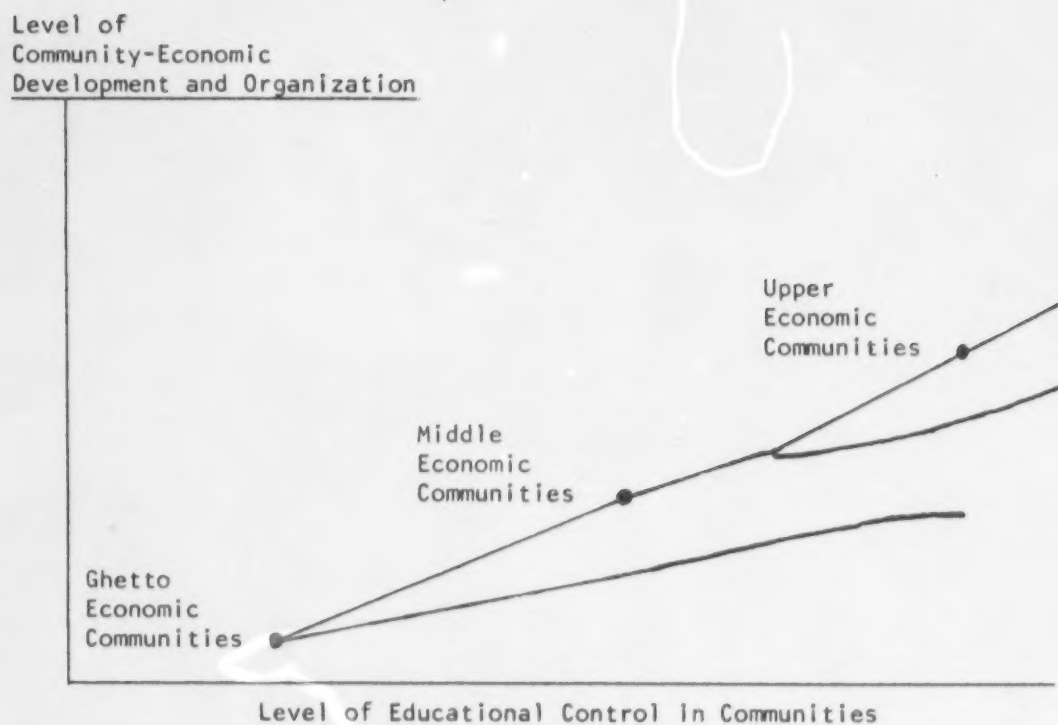


Figure 3. Differential curve of economic and educational organization.

LEVEL OF ORGANIZATION OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY RESOURCES

PARAMETERS OF EDUCATIONAL DESIGN AND LEARNING

- A. Instructional methods
- B. School architecture
- C. Classroom organization
- D. Instructional media
- E. Educational technology
- F. Teacher training
- G. Educational administration
- H. Parental roles

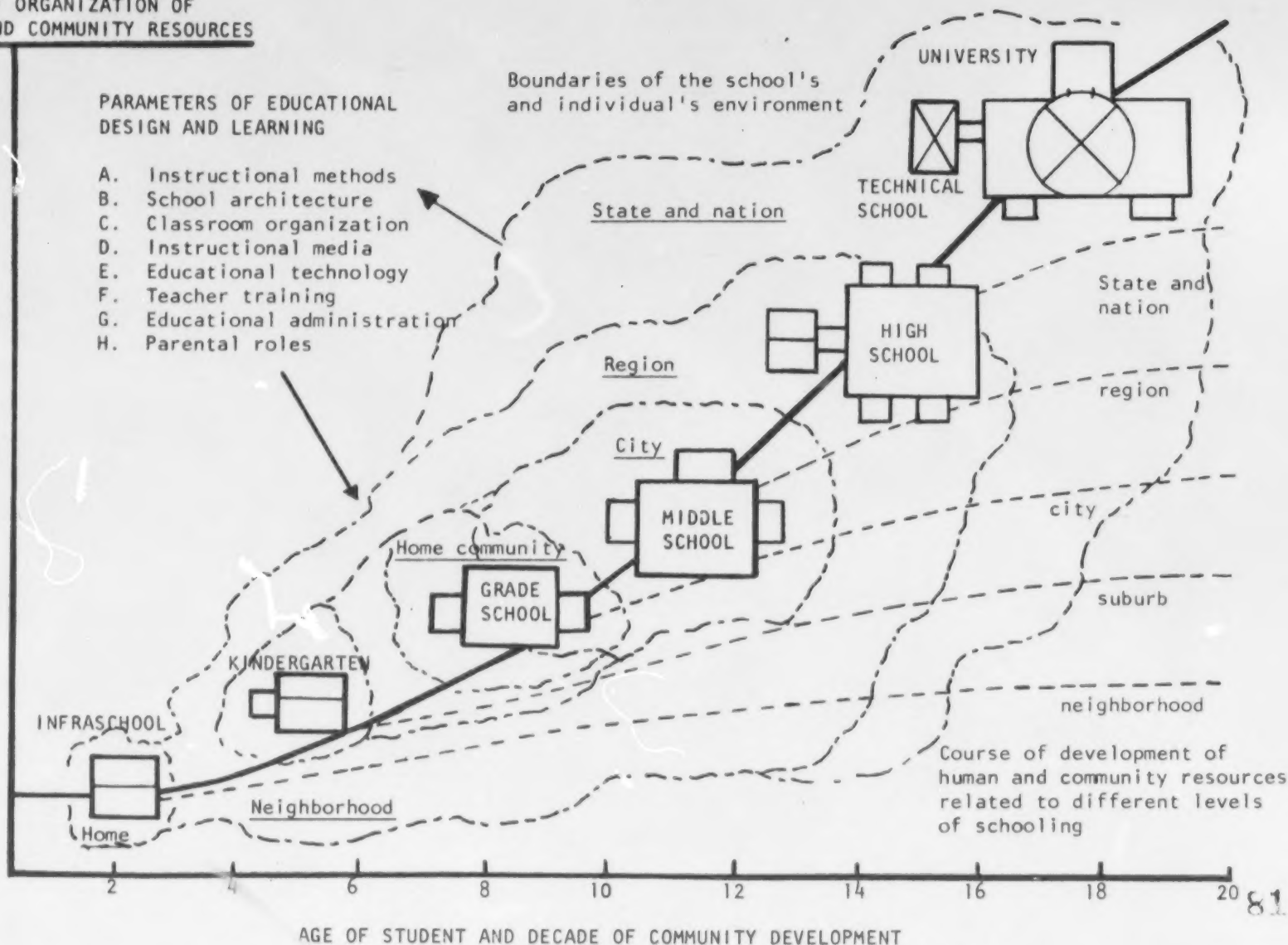


Figure 4. Differential developmental graph showing how the level of schooling and school design is related on a selective systems basis with the age of students and the environments which they must learn to control.

knowledge and skill in controlling, developing, and integrating different sectors of community life. The child's or student's developmental progress in advancing through successive levels of schooling carries with it a widened knowledge and skill in contributing to the human resources of the community (i.e., their home, neighborhood, state, and nation). If the various levels of schooling are optimally designed and human factored for desegregation as a developmental pattern, schooling then will create individual skills which can add to overall community resources in desegregation development. In the case where desegregation has not been given human factors and differential consideration, there is not only curtailment and waste of human resources, but distortion of the process of integration of different sectors of the local and national community.

The community for an individual is not a single area or bounded space (Smith, 1975). For the infant, it is the home or even a part of the home. For the college student, it may expand to be a state or nation. For the sophisticated professional or global industrialist, it may represent continents or a good part of the entire world. The concept of community resources education and differential educational organization pictured in Figure 4 suggests that it is possible to design education so that the natural development of the individual student in desegregation involves gradual emergence and adding of human resources critical to integration, desegregation, and development of different sectors and levels of the community. When desegregation planning and education become poorly designed, as it is now, individuals lose their skill resources to add to the integration and social-economic values of homes, neighborhoods, and ethnic cultural groups. In the proposed plan, community resources of the school and human resources are locked together in inter-dependent feedback relations in which the school acts to determine the integration and level of both.

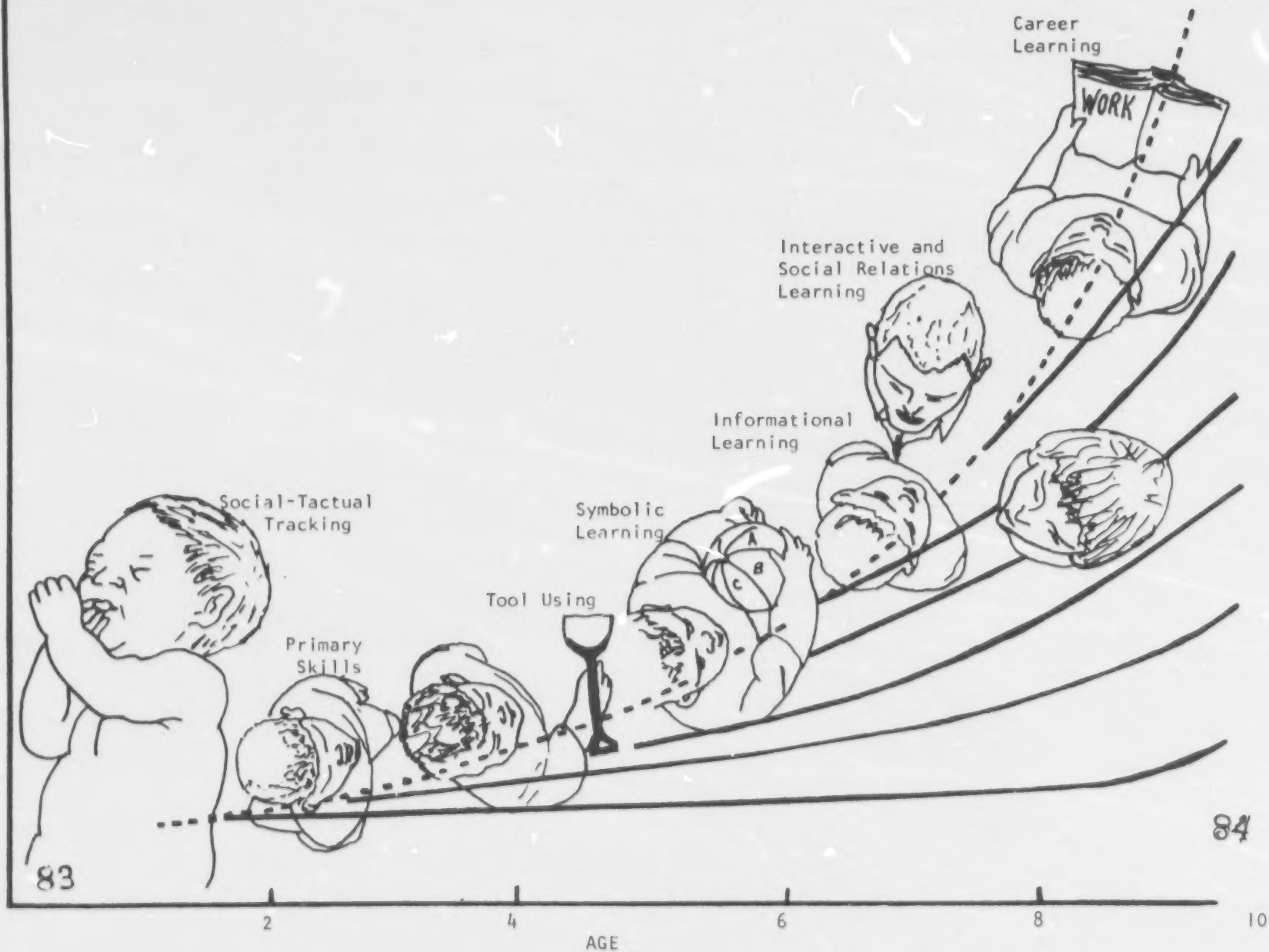
The systems theory and differential features pictured in Figure 4 assume that all aspects of education, i.e., methods of instruction, curricula, media design, book design, geographic location, administration, educational technology, architecture, and teacher training, vary in their optimal human design in terms of the levels of educational and differential development pictured in Figure 4. Instruction is made relevant both to the student and to the community, and hence can influence the development of both, only by designing the dimensions of education to relate the student and community in planning and establishing desegregation programs.

Figures 5 and 6 represent the social maturational curves in human development and the successive stages in which the child and student is capable of acquiring skills necessary to comprehend multiethnic phenomena. These curves further suggest that social relational tracking does not reach its greatest potential until the age of twelve. Until that time, the child and developing student is acquiring the necessary base for learning the community, its resources, and social control over their function. The child and student who fails to develop through these successive stages of organization is suggested to be severely limited socially and educationally in adjusting and adapting to novel situations. Busing as a tool severely limits the young child in developing through these successive levels.

Systems Design of the Differential Desegregation Plan

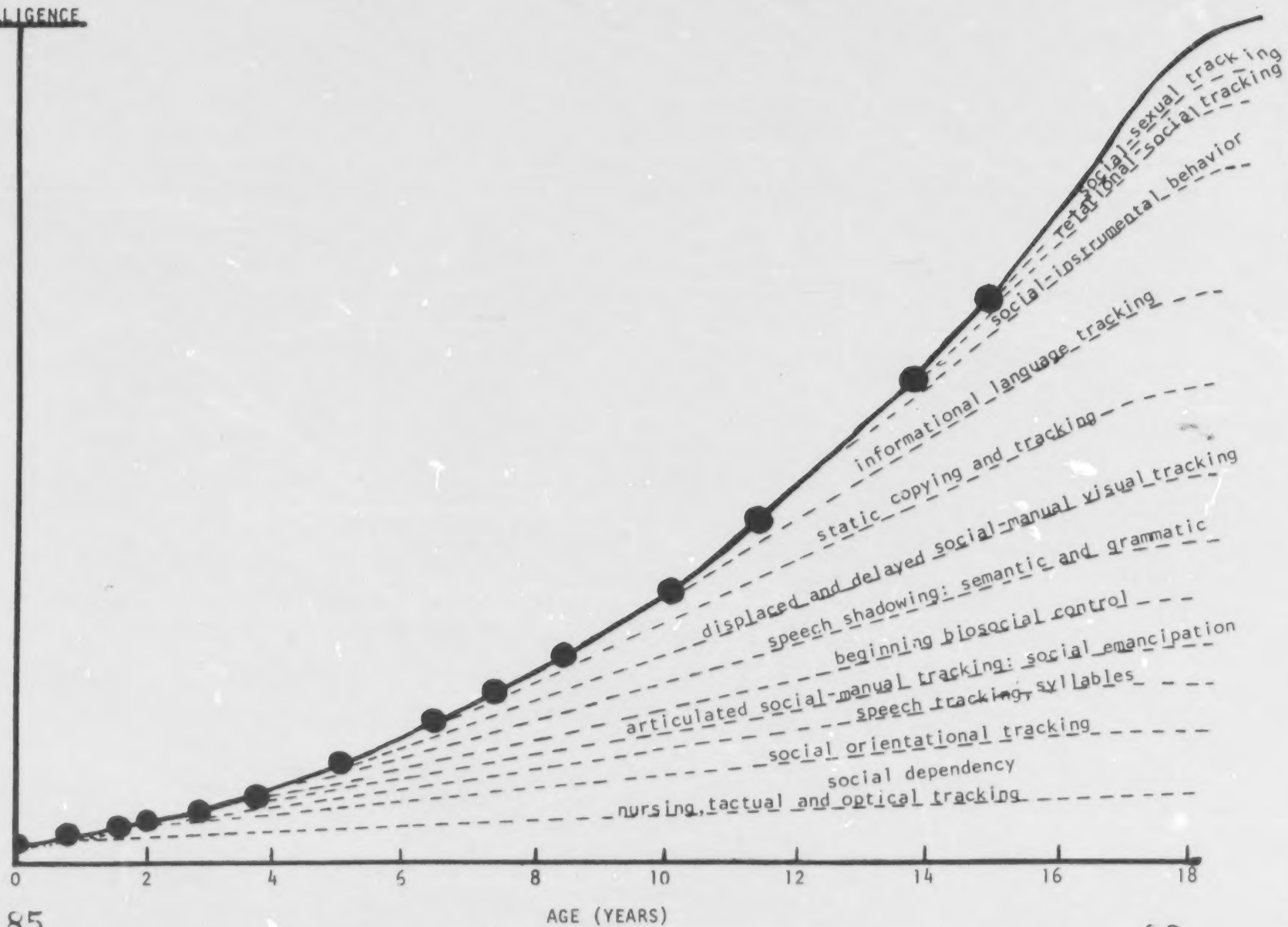
Figure 4 is the basic foundation for designing a model differential desegregation program in which each grade level within the school, as well as each

Figure 5. The course of development as an integration of maturation of successive patterns of social-interactive tracking and their refinement in learning.



INTELLIGENCE

Figure 6. The critical periods of maturation and their course of subsequent development through learning of the main social tracking skills of infants and children.



individual school, is regarded as a developmental effort and comprehensive approach to desegregation of schools. Limited attention is devoted to the ratios of ethnic groups, but rather, attention is placed on the design of the physical plant as a community resource to promote the development and integration of all sectors of the community through teaching and social interaction.

Infraschool Plan (or Base Parent School)

This plan should be designed to give infants, nursery school, and kindergarten students cultural home and family skills which can be imparted only by help and participation of parents in the schooling. One basic problem that occurs in practically every community that must desegregate its schools is the failure of the school administration to thoroughly inform parents of what is to take place (C.R.S. Report, 1975). The infraschool is the beginning of the child's education and should also serve as an orientation to inform and familiarize parents with the developmental process.

Kindergarten and Early Grade School Plan

This level of schooling should be designed to reflect the activities and cultural interactions between families and the geography of the neighborhood. The child is exposed to local regional awareness of their own neighborhood as well as those of other ethnic groups. The curriculum should be designed in an overall manner to ensure such social exposure.

Upper Grade School and Middle School Plan

This level should incorporate skills and community resources of the town or city and thus develop geographical, language, mathematical, artistic, historical, social, and scientific skills in relation to the particular town or city. The notion is to begin providing the basis for understanding and comprehending the ethnic distinctions and patterns of economic and social relations in the community. The program should be human factored to carry out the capabilities of the child as outlined in Figures 5 and 6.

The High School Plan

The high school should extend this locally relevant educational design to more abstract levels and begin to specialize students along vocational career lines that are relevant to local city, town, and regional resources. The effort is to encourage development of thinking and commitment to promote positive relations between groups through the use of science, occupation, and activities of work which the student may project. The basic idea is to create an awareness of the multicultural-multiracial living and interaction patterns in society and their possible career solutions. In addition, high schools should require specific education in local business and industries as well as specific experiences in ethnic artistic and recreational activities.

Summary

The plan as presented represents a great departure from the preoccupation with ratios and ethnic mixtures as an effort to achieve racial balance in schools. Rather, a human factors and human design approach is proposed as an effort to design a desegregation program based on human performance capabilities in learning, development, and adjustment. The proposal is to promote culturally based community resources education, which considers both the differentials within and between schools.

Multiracial problems in work, education, and community interaction are problems of design of the resources in institutions such as schools. Such problems will continue to exist until real-life comprehensive efforts are developed to approach such design issues.

Absent from the above plan are the detailed procedures for plan development, plan design, implementation, and evaluations. These efforts are part of the developing Ethnic Science program of the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh and the American Ethnic Science Society as an attack on discrimination and desegregation in schools and communities and as an effort to project positive ethnic relations in multiracial cities of the future.

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AFRICA IS NOT A JUNGLE

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The 1960's was a period of revolution in the study of African history. The leading African historians of that decade, and it was a small group indeed, were acutely aware of the neglect and bias which characterized attitudes toward their area of specialization. Up to that time no comprehensive history of Africa had been seriously attempted. Most of the writings in print were the work of European explorers, missionaries, colonial officials, and more recently, anthropologists who had gone to Africa to measure peoples' foreheads and noses and to report on their marriage customs. With the exception of those written by the anthropologists, most of the books on Africa were concerned with the activities of Europeans in Africa, rather than those of Africa's peoples.

It is not surprising that Africans should have been neglected and their history distorted or ignored when one considers the nearly universal attitude in the West toward the "Dark Continent." For four and a half centuries Africa had been of direct concern only to slave traders, missionaries, a few trading companies, and the Colonial Offices of European governments. The public's fancy was captured from time to time by the exploits of Richard Burton or H. M. Stanley, the plight of General Gordon at Khartoum, and the stories of Rudyard Kipling and H. Rider Haggard. But in both the real and fictional adventures, the principal actors were white men struggling against the "savage" practices of a "lesser breed" and against the inhospitable climate of the "African jungle."

The first changes in this approach to African studies appeared with a new generation of scholars trained in the period following World War II--a period which witnessed Europe's initial retreat from colonialism. Historians like the Nigerian, K. O. Dike, the Englishmen, J. D. Fage and Roland Oliver, the Belgian, Jan Vansina, and the Frenchman, Raymond Mauny, wrote about Africa's past from a new point of view. They appreciated that Africa's lack of written tradition did not mean that Africa had no history beyond its relations with Europe and America. For the first time they saw Africans as playing an active role and African societies as initiators rather than simply as recipients. These scholars were in the vanguard of a new approach to African history, but they did not attract many followers until the 1960's.

The decade that gave us the Beatles, Mario Savio, and Stokely Carmichael also gave us Philip Curtin, Norman Bennett, and Basil Davidson. The 1960's saw the flourishing of African Studies programs on many major university campuses. These programs trained a new crop of graduate students who were committed to the proposition that the history of Africa, like the history of all other regions, was worthy of careful study. The stimuli for this expansion of academic interest in African history came from three directions--one from within the university and two from outside.

The year of publication of William H. McNeill's *The Rise of the West*, a book which caused many historians to rethink the notion of "World History," was 1963. Up to that time, and unfortunately even after it in many places, World History had meant the Western tradition traced from its origins in the Tigris-Euphrates and Nile River valleys to Crete, to Greece, to Rome, to Western Europe. McNeill's book argued convincingly that World History ought to mean much more than this. He demonstrated that the Eurasian land mass had witnessed interaction among its many civilizations since shortly after their origins. While devoting very little attention to Africa, *The Rise of the West* made historians reconsider the one-way relationships they had previously assumed and look more closely at Africa divorced from European trade and exploitation. Philip Curtin's examination of the "South-Atlantic System," a complex network of commercial and cultural interrelationships, is a case in point.

Second, during the period from 1956 to 1965, most of the states of sub-Saharan Africa achieved their independence. Black faces appeared in the councils of the United Nations, and names like Kwame Nkrumah and Tom Mboya became well-known in this country. Washington was forced to retreat some distance from its provincialism in African matters and legislated substantial federal support for African Studies programs. It should not be assumed, however, that the motives for the federal government's contributions were purely, or even largely, scholarly; Africa was becoming a major theater of the Cold War, and America had to prepare its "troops." Where could this be more effectively done than in Los Angeles, Evanston, or Bloomington?

Third, and perhaps most significant, the new interest in Africa was stimulated by the success of the Civil Rights and "Black Power" movements of the 1960's. This is not to suggest that Afro-Americans had not previously been concerned with the "old country" as a glance at W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, Langston Hughes, and others would establish, but that it was only in that turbulent decade that the heritage of Black Americans was forcibly thrust on the consciousness of the majority culture. It became politically more difficult for university administrators to ignore or deny the intellectual validity of African Studies.

The 1960's, then, was a decade in which African history became aware of itself as a new and distinct field of study and in which the rest of the academic establishment was compelled to recognize Africa as a continent deserving of study. It became common wisdom that primary and secondary school curricula had to be revised to reflect this new vision. Especially to be emphasized was the connection between Afro-Americans and their "homeland." Thus were units on the slave trade and the great "empires" of the Western Sudan added to World History courses. African and Afro-American history specialists were added to state education departments to oversee the revision of curricula and to assure that these fields would no longer be neglected. The "revolution" had succeeded. Africa had been admitted to the world and its history to World History.

Or had it? Where do we stand ten years after the revolution? Do college freshmen come to us with a more accurate picture of Africa than did their parents or older siblings? Sadly, the answer is that they have little, if any, more sophistication about Africa. Students still arrive on campus with the old, deeply-ingrained stereotypes largely intact. The responses to a questionnaire (see Table i) indicate that most college students enrolling in an introductory African Civilization course have an idea of the African continent that conforms more

closely to the Africa of a Tarzan movie than to reality. The addition of African material to high school World History courses has not had the desired result. An examination of the new curricula and the texts commonly used is sufficient to explain this failure. What becomes apparent is that Africa, while receiving more attention than it did some years ago, is still treated only peripherally. African history has not been integrated into World History but stands as a minor and, therefore, easily forgettable addendum. Thus it is not surprising that college students know little about the second largest continent.

But it is not only the students' misinformation and lack of background which complicates the teaching of African history. All too often, colleagues and existing structures become impediments. There remains considerable distrust and animosity among traditional historians for the methods of the Africanist. Despite its increasing application to the study of American and European history, oral history is not regarded by many historians as a legitimate tool. Some traditional historians who demand written evidence are put off by the African historian's reliance on other disciplines such as anthropology, linguistics, and art history. There is a feeling in some history departments that the interest in Africa is a fad and, if ignored, it will go away. Some members of these departments see the addition of African courses as a purely political gesture that will no longer be necessary when things return to "normal." This particular attitude is demonstrated by the frequent confusion of African history with Afro-American history. While the two fields are in fact related, they are no more the same than are the histories of Russia and of Russian immigrants in the United States. The general assumption is that African and Afro-American history are one field, that anyone prepared to teach one is also prepared to teach the other, and that both of them are offered only in response to the demands of black students. In this way is the legitimacy of African history, and Afro-American history as well, questioned by historians of Europe and America.

This, then, is the problem. The teacher of African history at the college level must find a way to reach students who, even today, have been misinformed or not informed about Africa. And all too often he or she must do this without the full cooperation of colleagues.

There are two basic misconceptions to contend with. The first concerns the continent of Africa itself, and the second, its people. Most students still believe that Africa is a jungle--that it is a steaming rain forest covered with dense vegetation which includes sturdy vines convenient for transportation. In fact, most refer to Africa as a "country," not as a continent. They share with the general American public a feeling that all of Africa is the same, and that diversity, both geographical and political, is less a factor in Africa than in Europe or America. Despite the extent of geographical and topographical misinformation about Africa, it is the easier problem to attack.

Students should be required to become familiar with the map of Africa in the first weeks of any introductory course. This means not only mastering the countries, cities, mountains, rivers, and lakes, but also becoming aware of climatic and rainfall variations. This is best accomplished by having students complete an outline map, or a series of maps, on which they locate important geographical features and areas. There is an understandable tendency to slight such activities on the college level but, in the case of Africa at least, to do so is a mistake. The instructor would do well to keep in mind that in a sense he is doing a remedial course. He is introducing a college student to material he should have encountered on a lower level but did not.

Similarly, it should not be all that difficult to convince students that Africa is geographically varied. Slides of different regions of the continent are usually sufficient evidence. There are also many commercially produced films which are designed for the same purpose. It is my experience, however, that most of these tend too much toward the travelogue and are, therefore, of only limited use in the classroom.¹ Sometimes, Hollywood feature films that were shot on location in Africa make the essential points about geography and climate visually, while perpetuating other myths and stereotypes in the dialogue and action. "Stanley and Livingstone" and "King Solomon's Mines" are two movies that have proven useful. More will be said later of these films which are useful for a variety of purposes.

More challenging and, perhaps, more significant than the misinformation about the shape and appearance of Africa are the myths and generalizations about Africans. It is rare to find a college freshman who appreciates the notion of cultural relativity. Almost all of them seem to come to college without ever questioning the "superiority" of Western culture. All societies are to be judged by the degree to which they resemble contemporary American society. African societies, which have far less in common with our own than, say, modern German society, are pegged several rungs below German society which, it might be well to add, in itself falls short of the American ideal.

Undoubtedly, racial hostility is a contributing factor to this idea. The majority of white Americans still insist, at least in private if not in the classroom, that Caucasians are the "fittest" people on earth. This reasoning leads inescapably to the conclusion that African societies are inferior to our own; they are "primitive." Symptomatic of this hierarchy is the language that most Americans use when speaking or writing about Africa. It is not that students consider the connotations and deliberately use words like primitive, uncivilized, tribe, and native, but that they *assume* that these words are properly applicable to Africa and certain other "underdeveloped" regions of the world. One encounters considerable opposition when suggesting to students that "native," for example, carries additional meanings other than simply "someone born in a certain place." The argument that students offer is that since they will refer to themselves as "natives of Ohio," there is nothing derogatory about using the same word for Africans. It is important to spend sufficient time discussing with students the connotations of the words commonly used when discussing Africa. If well done, this provides an excellent lesson as it brings students face-to-face with many of the prejudices they may be unconsciously holding.

At the root of the problem is most people's unwillingness to accept the proposition that no society is any "better" than another. The concept that technological superiority does not imply cultural superiority is not easily conveyed. "Common sense" seems to dictate that the society which conquers another is the superior society, people or race. In part, this is a product of the saturation of our thinking with the social Darwinists' unjustified appropriation of the biologists' terms and reasoning. The application of phrases like "struggle for existence" and "survival of the fittest" to the races of mankind has been

¹The African Studies Program at Indiana University has published a series of filmographies on Africa. The most recent appeared in 1975. These are most helpful and are available from the African Studies Program, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, 47401.

occurring for over a hundred years. Perhaps the single most important service the teacher of African history can perform is to show students the error, and evil intent, of this sort of thought.

The temptation to think in ethnocentric terms is reinforced by how little exposure students get to Africa in elementary and secondary school. There an attempt is somewhat haphazardly made to convince students that, in the distant past, Africans were more "advanced" than Europeans. But the point is not that there was a "university" in Timbuktu several centuries before there was one at Bologna or Paris. Nor is it that African goldsmiths were capable of finer work than were their contemporaries in Europe. Rather, the concept to be taught and learned is that the many societies of the world are all different one from the other, and that while their similarities and differences may be profitably explored, there is no value to be gained by attempting to rank them. This is not to say that one should attempt to deny the obvious technological superiority that Europe has enjoyed over Africa for the last half millenium or so, but that one should point out clearly that this is proof only of technological superiority. It does not follow that Christianity is holier than the Yoruba religion, that Beethoven is more "complex" than Zairian drumming, or that Shakespeare is more nearly universal than Duro Lapidó. Any society can be examined and described, but giving it a place in a hierarchy makes about as much sense as measuring foreheads.

Describing the problems is surely much easier than formulating solutions. No comprehensive answers are offered in the present essay. There are, however, some methods and materials which can be helpful. There is in 1976 still no wholly satisfactory textbook for an introductory college level African history course.² This may, however, be as much a blessing as a loss. It is particularly difficult in African history for the instructor to succumb to the temptation to build a course around a central text--a policy which is seldom successful in any historical field. Instead, the teacher is in a position to select a number of books, many of which may represent the scholarship of other disciplines than history. This is particularly appropriate in African history, a field that relies heavily on work done outside the traditional historical methods of investigation. Since a "problems" or topical approach is desirable in a first level course, it is not difficult to choose a satisfactory reading list.

While discussing published materials for class use it is worth noting the value of requiring students to keep abreast of current developments in Africa. Because of the attention devoted in the press to southern Africa, this is easily done at the moment. The "News of the Week in Review" from the Sunday edition of *The New York Times* is a likely possibility, although one might prefer to direct students to *Africa Report* or another specialized journal. Care should be taken to see that students consider the political orientation of the author or publication they are reading.

²There have been some fairly successful attempts at a comprehensive text although none is completely satisfactory. John Paden and Edward Soja published a useful multi-volume, interdisciplinary introductory course on Africa, *The African Experience* (Northwestern University Press, 1970). The syllabus is still applicable though the essays are now a bit out of date. Also useful is E. Jefferson Murphy, *History of African Civilization* (Delta, 1974). There is a new text forthcoming from Philip Curtin and others which will warrant examination.

Mention has briefly been made earlier of the use of films. At this point it is appropriate to consider the value of feature-length Hollywood films set in Africa. In addition to the obvious advantage of holding students' attention, it has been my experience that showing a film like "Stanley and Livingstone" and then asking students to discuss the ways in which the director and writers have gone wrong is a most rewarding exercise. Students will pick out inconsistencies between the myths that come from characters' mouths and the reality available on the screen. In "Stanley and Livingstone," for example, Africans are portrayed as black versions of American Indians. Spencer Tracy's (Stanley) guide, Walter Brennan, is fresh from "Injun fightin'" on the American frontier, and the "natives" play tom-toms. A film like "Stanley and Livingstone" provides a focus for a discussion of the racial prejudice which underlies many of the images of Africa. One practical consideration: many of the best feature films for this purpose were made in the 1930's and 1940's and are not in very great demand. They are, therefore, available for rental at fairly reasonable rates.

The contemporary African film should also be considered for class viewing. There are not many of these available, and they tend to be expensive to rent. However, they are often worth the expense. The work of the Senegalese film-maker, Sembene Ousmane, is especially prominent. His newest film, "Xala," provides an insight into modern Africa that is hard to find in any other way. It not only gives an accurate vision of what a part of Africa really looks like today, it serves as an excellent introduction to the whole question of revolution in Africa and, for that matter, in all of the Third World. Sembene shows us a black African state which is every bit as corrupt and evil as it had been under European domination. If time allows, a most effective series of lessons could be created using "Xala" and *Wretched of the Earth*.

The most accessible and successful tool for making students sensitive to African culture remains the novels written by Africans over the last twenty years or so. Though it is no longer a new book, Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* receives an overwhelmingly favorable response. Students are not only attracted to the protagonist, with whom they identify, but also begin to appreciate traditional Ibo society both for its good points and its inadequacies. Achebe discusses the latter quite frankly, which makes it easier for readers to understand how Ibo society functioned. Students can be brought to consider cultural values quite different from their own while also recognizing that, in many respects, Ibo people are very much like themselves. Further, *Things Fall Apart* raises the important issues of what happens when two cultures are brought into conflict with each other. One finds that many students who are aware of imperialism as a political and economic phenomenon from European history courses have never considered its cultural implications. They have always approached European colonialism, as did many of the colonizers, as a matter of drawing lines on a map. Through the novel they realize that much more is involved. They also see that a convincing case can be made that the arrival of the Europeans in Africa caused more harm than good.

When constructing a syllabus for the introductory African history course, it is important to allow sufficient time to cover the contemporary and immediately pre-contemporary periods. Too many history courses end with the achievement of independence, leaving the latter period to the political scientists, depriving students of exposure to one of the most significant chapters in African history. In addition to demonstrating that African states have become important actors on the world's stage, a study of the last fifteen years reveals new versions of many of the issues raised earlier in the course. Ethnicity is one good example;

land tenure is another. That the modern era not be slighted is particularly crucial in respect to South Africa and its neighbors. While the instructor may not think it his role to turn students into political activists, it is unquestionably his responsibility to see that they are made aware of *Apartheid* and its international implications.

The teacher who has one or even two semesters to treat the history of Africa from the first man to the present day clearly faces a challenge. But, one might argue, so does any history teacher in a survey course. For the African historian, however, the challenge is larger than the mass of material to be covered because he must first correct mistaken impressions and confront a variety of stereotypes before the real work of the course can be undertaken. In a sense, he is starting below zero. If the political activism and intellectual ferment of the 1960's could make only a small dent in the prevailing attitudes, it is hard to suggest what is going to alter the situation in the next several years. However, when the students we are now re-educating about Africa are themselves parents and teachers, our task will be easier. Hasten the day.

TABLE 1

QUESTIONNAIRE GIVEN TO STUDENTS ENTERING AFRICAN HISTORY SURVEY

Indicate whether the following are true or false:

1. Most of Africa is jungle or tropical rain forest.
2. Most Africans live in villages of round huts with thatched roofs in clearings in the jungle.
3. African soils are very fertile, and most crops can be grown with ease as is demonstrated by the dense vegetation that covers much of the continent.
4. There are places in Africa where there is snow all year.
5. Man first became differentiated from the apes in Asia and moved into Africa relatively recently.
6. There are more than 800 languages in Africa.
7. Africa is very densely populated. In fact, it is second only to Asia in density of population.
8. Because many African men have more than one wife, the birth rate in Africa is higher than in Europe or America.
9. All Africans are black.
10. In most African countries, the population is made up of one ethnic group.
11. Most Africans speak Swahili.
12. Independent African states share the same goals and work towards them in the same ways.
13. If African farmers had tractors, their agricultural problems would be solved.
14. Problems facing African cities have much in common with those confronting American cities.

PART II

RACE AND ETHNIC ISSUES

COALITION OR CONFLICT AMONG URBAN BLACKS AND ETHNICS: A MODEL FOR ANALYSIS

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Over the past few years in urban America there have been increasing manifestations of a reawakening of 'white ethnic' Americans. From Minneapolis to Gary to Baltimore and Boston, ethnics are developing organizations and alliances to restore ethnic pride and to voice their grievances relative to central cities' problems. Leaders of this consciousness raising range from academicians like NORC's Greeley to practitioners such as Levine, Barone, and Mikulski.

The nature of this reawakening lies both on a cultural and social level, the latter in terms of power and economic struggles. Regarding the former, Barone (1970) says:

The blacks began to say you've got to know who you are. Ethnics must do the same thing. There's enough stress in a fast changing society. A person needs his sources of strength. If they reject their culture and heritage, they have nothing to stand on.

On the social level white ethnics feel, like the blacks, that they are powerless. They suffer from inadequate schools, declining municipal services; they are victims of crime, disproportionate taxes, and low incomes.

Some of the factors which may account for this reawakening will be discussed later; however, listed below are several that need to be stated at the outset. First, the Americanization and melting pot processes did not succeed in destroying ethnic diversity. Self-conscious elements and cultural complexes, though submerged in their private worlds, still persisted in a latent manner for these ethnics. Secondly, ethnics have historically reacted against the rootlessness, anonymity, and hostility of technological and bureaucratic culture of American society by maintaining a *gemeinschaft*-type social structure in their natural areas. Thirdly, this revival of pluralism reflects the injustices ethnics have silently experienced since the time of landing on the American shores; now they are articulating these grievances and demanding equal participation. In a real sense, of course, racial minorities have been the trail blazers of this renewed pluralism. Fourthly, this new awareness has in part developed as a result of intergroup competition for scarce resources resulting from such programs as affirmative action employment, antipoverty services, etc. Lastly, the ecological structure of our central cities has placed in close proximity the different needs and life styles of thirty-five million ethnics and fourteen million blacks. These visible contrasts have engendered a certain ethnic self-consciousness.

The focus of the present discussion is, then, ethnic identity and solidarity,

and ethnicity seen from a social movement perspective. Our analysis is circumscribed by the following questions: What are the current perspectives on ethnicity? What are the factors accounting for its persistence? What are the functions of ethnicity? What is the relationship of ethnicity to social class? What accounts for the reawakening of ethnic consciousness? What model can be employed to shed light on the relationship of the ethnic movement and pluralism?

Before attempting to answer these questions, it would be well to clarify what is meant by "white ethnics" in terms of population aggregates. The reference here is primarily to the "second wave of immigration" beginning in the 1880's. These ethnics were primarily from Eastern and Southern Europe. They were primarily Catholic, but sizeable numbers were Jewish and Eastern Orthodox. Novak (1971) ingloriously called these ethnics PIGS: Poles, Italians, Greeks, and Slavs. The Russians must be added to this list. The 1960 Census reported about thirty-five million as foreign stock. The majority of these are "white ethnics."

There are a variety of perspectives from which ethnics have been viewed by sociologists. First of all Kolm (1971) employs the concept of ethnic group to designate cultural subsystems of the larger society. This perspective implies that the ethnic group for the individual is a source of conceptual patterns and symbolic images which makes the world meaningful to him and which are transmitted to his children through socialization. The second perspective sees ethnic group behavior as primarily a working class or proletarian phenomenon (Gans, 1962). A third perspective views ethnic groups basically as interest groups which perceive gains to be made by sticking together (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963). Lastly, one may view an ethnic group as a network of groups and institutions which allow the individual to maintain his primary group ties within this group during most of his life (Gordon, 1964, p. 38). Quite similar views are held by Greeley (1972, p. 295), who presents a model of ethnicity in the form of *gemeinschaft* that has survived in a rationalized and bureaucratized society, and by Suttles (1968, p. 31), who views ethnic groups as characterized by an "ordered segmentation" which suggest that an ethnic section possesses a standardized routine for managing social relations.

At the present time, it is impossible to say what combinations of the above perspectives give a more accurate image of ethnic identity. What is of importance is that ethnic group solidarity grew out of American experience. When immigrants came from the farms and villages of Europe, they were confronted with a culture which emphasized individualism, competition, achievement, and success. This value system, together with a normative structure of discrimination and exploitation, created for these immigrants a situation of anomie, rootlessness, and non-belonging. The ethnics reacted to this hostility by developing close-knit communities which provided the necessary insulation for the genesis of a subculture--a subculture which was something new. It involved a combination of cultural ways and values brought over from the peasant life of these Europeans, experiences in America as an exploited group, and self-interest in striving for group solidarity both to attain a sense of belonging and to wield a certain degree of counter-power, especially in the area of urban politics (see Glazer, 1954; Greeley, 1972). Under these circumstances, then, they sought out other immigrants both from their village and from their country who became a new source of identification and affiliation. These ethnics formed a wide variety of organizations, such as mutual aid societies, schools, churches, hospitals, insurance companies, newspapers, etc. More often than not, according to Handlin (1951), the immigrant found himself operating inside these cultural and structural enclaves. These communities

provided a way to adapt and survive in a world of turmoil due to the migration experience, a hostile culture, and the processes of urbanization and industrialization. Many of these communities still persist. This fact has been ignored by reformers (Gans, 1962) and scholars (Greeley, 1972) alike.

What accounts for this persistence of ethnic subcultures? First, these subcultures provide symbols for self-identity and meaningful forms of social relationships in the urban situation earmarked with bureaucratic rationality; and this situation, if anything, has culminated in the widespread identity crisis of the 1960's. The "wasp" youth, be it a third generation or third stage (Hansen, 1940), are also rebelling against the mobility quest and total assimilation into a technological and rational culture. People are striving to reclaim the past in a variety of nostalgia-type experiences. Ethnic youths, because of their anchorage in extended family systems and ethnic enclaves, have not experienced such a severe crisis. Ethnic youth suffer less from the generation gap, drug problems, flights to communes than their middle-class counterparts. Thus, ethnic communities persist as fairly stable social systems, providing a cultural buffer against the normative malaise found in urban life (Kolm, 1971).

Secondly, cultural and social distances from the "wasp" majority were maintained in the quasi-segregated ethnic neighborhoods. In these neighborhoods throughout the urban north, beliefs, values, loyalties, and confidences have persisted in primary and quasi-primary social structures, thus preventing a complete homogenization. Ecologically speaking, these neighborhoods have acted as surrogate villages, or in the words of Fried and Gleicher (1961), "as an extension of home in which various parts are delineated and structured on the basis of a sense of belonging."

Finally, ethnic communities have survived because they have developed a variety of socialization mechanisms which have effectively communicated role expectations and symbols, providing both meaning for behavior and linkages to one's subcultural group (Kolm, 1971). In sum, by whatever standard employed, ethnic groups, because of their large concentrations in urban centers, their ecological separation, their latent or manifest sense of group identity must be taken into account in any explanatory scheme of American pluralism.

For many researchers and urban practitioners, white ethnic subcultures were either denied as a social fact, as evidenced by scholarly neglect, or by practical programs, such as urban renewal and OEO. Despite the varying perspectives on ethnic communities, ethnic substructures and cultures have persisted. It is important to understand some of the functions resulting from the maintenance of these enclaves. First, the immediate consequence of ethnic communities is providing a sense of group identification, or in the words of Milton Gordon (1964), "the locus of the sense of peoplehood." Secondly, it provides a nesting ground where intimate and quasi-primary relations take place. These two consequences provide for two basic social needs--the sense of identity and belonging. Often the ethnic enclaves are the only white areas left within the center cities and are bordered by black districts. They are populated by long-time residents who own their own homes and have developed a sense of group in relation to their neighborhood. The social life revolves around the family and a network of peer group relations built up since childhood. The presence of several generations creates a mixture of old and young which, coupled with

strong family ties, reduces juvenile crime in the area. The attraction of ethnic food stores, churches, and social organizations tends to stabilize the social structure within the neighborhood, and the residents tend to intermarry and remain. Thirdly, ethnic enclaves provide a buffer against a hostile and impersonal world of what can be called public culture. Fourthly, it allows for individuals to probe into the macro world with a limited liability for psychological stress.

The last consequence relates to the larger community. Ethnic communities have in a major way contributed to the social stability of urban life and have disproportionately provided revenue resources for the financial operations of the city. It should be clear that the ethnic phenomenon is one of the crucial factors in understanding the complexity and dynamics of pluralism.

The fact that most residents of ethnic communities in central cities are working class raises the question of what behavior and value sets can be accounted for by social class and ethnicity. In other words, is ethnicity nothing more than a working class phenomenon? There are differences of perspective on this as seen earlier, and present research does not offer a great deal of light. Most likely there is an admixture of both factors. The important point, however, is the social fact of ethnic cohesiveness, and both class and ethnic issues are part of an ethnic social movement which will be discussed later. There is some evidence that white ethnicity has not completely been washed out either structurally or culturally. As mentioned earlier, Greek, Italian, Jewish, and Polish enclaves maintain themselves either in central cities or contiguous suburbs. Greeley's research at NORC (1972) has produced the following tentative findings: (1) considerable ethnic diversities persist even when social class is held constant, especially in the area of political and social attitudes, occupational values, familial role expectations, and personality orientations; (2) recent immigrants of Eastern and Southern Europe have substantial middle and upper middle-class components. Moreover, some ethnic groups have managed to maintain a very high level of internal cohesion, despite the fact that most of their members have entered the middle and upper middle class; (3) some blue-collar ethnics are more liberal on the issue of race and peace than their non-ethnic counterparts; and (4) the more involved a person is in his own ethnic heritage, the less likely he is to display signs of racism and bigotry.

Thus there are distinct ethnic life styles resulting from a bicultural amalgam. Ethnics participate in the rational and competitive technological culture and also in the private world of ethnic belonging. This ethnic belonging provides social support and mutual aid against social discrimination, economic exploitation, and political injustices. Moreover, it provides cues for surviving in an individualistic world and it provides symbols to interpret the impinging social realities. In short, in the words of Novak (1972), "The world is mediated to human persons through language and culture, that is, through ethnic belonging."

This paper has reviewed different perspectives on ethnicity current in sociological literature. It has also discussed the factors accounting for the persistence of ethnicity and its consequences. In addition, the paper also has attempted to show that ethnicity has an independent influence on behavior separate from social class. The recent phenomenon of ethnic self-awareness, or to use Robert Alter's (1972) engaging phrase, why this fever of Ethnicity,

provides an added dimension.

As previously noted, the resurgence of ethnic consciousness is tied to a search for identity and anchorage growing out of the turbulent decade of the 1960's (see special issue of *Sounding*, Spring 1973). White ethnics have felt not only isolated from the "liberal" movements of the sixties but also felt they were being blamed for the problems of racism and militarism. Some black leaders and liberal middle-class whites have employed such epithets as "racist pig," "hard hat," and "hawk" at these groups. More particularly, ethnics are bitter against middle-class snobbery which simultaneously condones black nationalism, yet condemns ethnic parochialism, while safely protected in their restrictive suburbs.

A second factor contributing to the resurgence of ethnic consciousness is the role of mass media, in particular, the role of television in creating ethnic stereotypes. The reaction of such groups as Italian and Polish organizations has been vehement. Protest activities and the regenesiis phenomenon have been far more widespread among the ethnic youth than the adult generation (Peachey and Mudd, 1971).

Third, there is a set of socioeconomic factors which have prompted ethnics to organize. For instance, economic forces have put ethnic groups into a vise. A great number of urban ethnics are members of the near poor; i.e., earning from \$5,000 to \$10,000 a year (Binzen, 1970). Ethnics, therefore, see affirmative action programs as another attempt to create intra-competitive strife among working class ethnics and blacks. The history of immigrants addresses itself to the long-standing fear ethnics have had of blacks as tools utilized by corporations to attack unionization and deflate wages (see Radzialowski, 1976). Moreover, today's inflation and a regressive income tax system have acerbated this income squeeze. The opportunity for occupational advancement has become quite restrictive (*Newsweek*, 1967). Thus, ethnics are fearful and angry.

Other problems of ethnics center around the ethnic neighborhood. Frequently ethnic neighborhoods are threatened with urban renewal or interstate highway programs. It has become increasingly more difficult for ethnics to obtain FHS mortgage insurance for both ownership and home improvements, pressuring ethnics to abandon their communities for the suburbs. This migration is accelerated by blockbusting techniques of realtors who exploit the white ethnic fear of the blacks. This fear is augmented by the increasing incidence of crimes against the person. In addition, there is a growing discontent over the quality of education in the urban schools and the deterioration of municipal services.

All these factors have left urban ethnics angry, isolated, and alienated. The end result is that stability and cohesion among ethnic enclaves have begun to decline; the substructure and subculture are no longer able to provide values, symbols, and norms for identity and belonging. In short, ethnics find themselves caught in a rapid urbanization process in which the values they have cherished and the institutions they have built are being destroyed by processes and programs of mass society.

This experience is aptly expressed by Barbara Mikulski:

I'd like to tell you why we are troubled. First we are tired of being politically courted and legally extorted. Second, we are sick and tired of institutions, both public and private, not being responsive . . . to the

people were instituted to serve. Third, we feel powerless in our dealings with these monoliths. Fourth, we don't like being blamed for all the problems of black people. Fifth, and perhaps the key, we anguish at all the class prejudice that is forced upon us. (*Carnegie Quarterly*, 1970).

As these problems became more manifest in recent years, ethnic groups have increasingly entered into conflictual relations both with the urban blacks and with the suburban middle-class liberals. The conflict with blacks is over the issues of federal aid, jobs, schools, and housing. For instance, in the poverty arena, 69 percent of the poor in Pittsburgh are white, but 79 percent of anti-poverty funds go to poor blacks (*Newsweek*, 1969). White ethnics perceive this case in point as a zero sum game--what is given to blacks in affirmative action programs is taken from him (Peachey and Mudd, 1971).

Finally, ethnics are in a struggle against the values of middle-class life. They find upper middle-class youth spurning the values they fought hard to adopt, such as hard work, honesty, sexual morality, patriotism, authority, and religious behavior. Ethnics are frustrated that middle-class culture makes fun of them both for being ethnic and for being a patriotic American. Barone (1970) observes: "He has worked hard all his life to become a 'good American' (even to the point of submerging his ethnicity) . . . then he is made fun of because he likes the flag."

Briefly discussed here have been some of the factors contributing to the reawakening of ethnic consciousness. Ethnic discontent has led to a variety of conflictual relations. The reassertion of identity has had some positive and negative consequences. It seems that when the new awareness is channeled into programs of cultural renewal and community organization, the resulting sense of pride and power have enabled ethnics to begin working with various racial groups in a host of social and political coalitions (*Newsweek*, 1970 and 1972). This conclusion supports Greeley's contention, noted earlier, that the more the individual identifies with his ethnicity, the less bigoted he is. On the other hand, individual responses, especially through the ballot box, point to sectors of bigotry in ethnic groups (Pettigrew, 1971). However, one ought not to conclude that the "white backlash" exists chiefly among white ethnics (Harris Survey, 1970).

With rising self-awareness, the emergence of ethnic leaders, and the development of a wide variety of organizational structures, the beginning of white ethnic social movement is taking shape. Two perspectives seem to permeate this movement: (1) ethnic identity and social location, and (2) factors related to social change relative to the reallocation of local and national resources. Some unity is being given to the various organizational forms by two national agencies, Project on Ethnic America, funded by the American Jewish Committee, and the Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs of the U.S. Catholic Conference.

The ethnic movement is providing both a social network for the regensis of subcultures and a mechanism to secure a variety of social gains, thus strengthening its position at the bargaining table. In sum, the new scheme of life and the new agenda provided by the movement enables ethnics to create a new community of solidarity and identity as well as a new definition replacing the old neighborhood community and its localistic outlook (Turner and Killian, 1972; Gusfield, 1970).

This movement is defining what Blacks, Chicaros, and Indians have already

sensitized America to; namely, every group has a legitimacy to be different and particular. What is emerging is a new model of pluralism which is much more complex. This new pluralism model demands that one become more appreciative of the range of differences within broad groups such as the Blacks, Spanish-speaking, Indians, and white ethnics, rather than viewing pluralism as a black-white or Indian-white situation. Moreover, this pluralism sensitizes one to the range of relationships possible among and between these groups.

A conceptual framework for investigating this new pluralism is the power relations model. Implicit to the discussion of a power relations model is the notion of social competition, scarce goods, and conflict. Conflict can be viewed as attacking the societal system itself or some abuse of the system. In the latter case, one speaks about reform over/against revolt. Newman (1973, pp. 122-129) speaks of consensus-projecting and consensus-bounded conflict. These frameworks are, of course, tied to the Marxian and Parsonian frameworks. The power model discussed here is based on normatively controlled conflicts. These conflicts are among groups that have a stake in the social institutions. Such conflicts tend to bring about change, but only gradually over a long period of time and with the result of strengthening the normative controls governing the conflicts.

A number of questions are posed by the power relations model. Between what groups are power and conflictual relations specified? For instance, the power relations may be between Hispanos and Chicanos in New Mexico, or between blacks, Puerto Ricans and white ethnics on one hand, and the white realtors on the other. In what institutional and ecological arenas are the power relations manifested? A neighborhood targeted for urban renewal may have different power relations among blacks and whites than an election at the UAW local. Who is in the dominant group? In one instance it may be middle class-suburbanites keeping out "undesirables" through zoning laws; in another situation it may be the courts, corporations, or city government. What power resources do the contending groups have? What is the nature of group interests and conflict? What mechanisms are present for managing intergroup conflict? Under what conditions does the new pluralism promote and protect both distinctiveness and legitimate interests of groups without fragmenting the national society?

In recent years throughout the urban north, blacks and white ethnics have been on a collision course conflicting with one another over jobs, schools, and housing (Krickus, 1971). As self-awareness, leadership, and organizational structures developed, first with racial groups and subsequently with white ethnics, each party to the conflicts has begun to review and clarify both its own self-interests and the issues. From the beginning of this decade, there is cumulative evidence that racial groups and white ethnics are beginning to define their self-interests and oppression as a common plight. The "enemy" is being redefined. The enemy has been identified as the bank, the realtor, the corporation, and the government. The beginnings of *ad hoc* alliances and coalitions are appearing in industrial cities of the north (*Newsweek*, 1970 and 1972).

What might account for conflict turning to cooperation? The power relations model suggests that when one of several contending parties lacks power resources such as organization and leadership, the less powerful group will be threatened, especially if the struggle for scarcity is mutually defined as a zero sum game. But the new pluralism is beginning to develop, among other things, a certain balance of power. The immediate consequence of this balancing has been a

heightened animosity and conflict. However, over time conflict has had the potential for a creative purifying process enabling the contenders to look more closely at their self-interests (Coser, 1956) to ascertain whether or not they have a common stake. For common interests to lead to coalitions, other factors must be present. It must be remembered that coalitions are by definition *ad hoc* alliances between or among different and possibly antagonistic groups. Besides common interests, then, the parties involved must also perceive that there is a relative balance of power among themselves. Moreover, the area of cooperation will be usually limited to specific pragmatic concerns. In addition, the respective ideologies must be flexible or tolerant enough to allow even minimum cooperation. These are some of the factors that will help explain the dynamics of the "new pluralism." In sum, the power relations model presented here will be a useful tool in better understanding the dynamics of ethnic and racial minorities relationships.

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THE ITALIAN-AMERICAN URBAN EXPERIENCE

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The triumph of ethnic studies in the 1960's inevitably led to the viability and acceptance of cultural pluralism as a legitimate explanation of American society and civilization. One scholar recently has indicated that the sentiment for ethnic studies is not a recent phenomenon and is not peculiar to contemporary minorities.¹ In fact, the origins of ethnic studies may be traced as far back as the colonial period when many white groups were considered minorities. Such a development continued throughout American history. Cultural maintenance has been sought by blacks as well as whites. Carter G. Woodson reported in 1919 that courses in black studies were being offered in several black colleges and at least five northern universities.²

Though late on the scene, it was inevitable that the systematic development of Italian-American Studies be established. Today there is a significant interest in this field, which has long been neglected. The reasons for studying the Italian-American experience are many. The Census lists the Italians as the second largest immigrant group to come to this country, and a group this large could not be permanently ignored.³ The Black Revolution and Michael Novak's *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (1972) have generated a sense of ethnicity among Italian-Americans, in particular, and has signaled the rise of white ethnic consciousness in general.⁴

The interest in Italian-American Studies is reflected in the many monographs, articles, theses, dissertations, and other research projects being produced by a growing Italian-American intelligentsia. But this field of endeavor has developed late. The great Italian migration came primarily from southern Italy where poverty, illiteracy, and exploitation prevailed; upon arriving in the U.S. they were subjected to an extensive amount of exploitation in their attempt to cope with the problems of an urban-industrial environment. Nearly four million Italians arrived from 1880 to 1920, at the time when the new national origins quota laws would seem to seal off future migrations. The Italians arrived after the British, Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians, and they faced language and

¹Lawrence P. Crouchett, "The Development of the Sentiment for Ethnic Studies in American Education," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies*, Vol. II (Winter 1975), pp. 77-85.

²*Ibid.*, p. 81.

³*Statistical Abstract of the U.S.: 1975*, 96th ed. (Washington, D.C., 1975), p. 101; covers 155-year period, 1820-1974 (Germany: 6,948,299; Italy: 5,259,026).

⁴Moses Rischin, *The Immigration History Newsletter*, Vol. VII (November 1975), p. 2. Many other reasons are presented.

cultural problems. As *contadini* (peasants) from the *mezzogiorno* (south), the Italian immigrants suffered from *campanilismo* (village-mindedness or provincialism). They lacked the skills and education to succeed immediately in the new society. As mystic Catholics, they had difficulty adapting to the American Catholic Church, which was controlled by the Irish.⁵ Finally, the founding of the American-Italian Historical Association in 1966 by a group of historians and sociologists represented the first truly professional organization to research the Italian-American experience.⁶ The AIHA holds an annual convention, publishes its proceedings, awards scholarships, disseminates relevant information to its members, and maintains ties with other professional and public organizations.

It is difficult to identify the exact number of Italian-Americans living in the United States. Nevertheless, the figures range anywhere from twenty-one million to as high as thirty million.⁷ The reason for the inadequacy of exact figures is due to the way in which the total population and the immigrants are enumerated. The number of Italians entering this country is known (although the figures on illegal entrants are not known), and returns to the old country are not counted. Moreover, only the first and second generations are counted by the Census Bureau, whereas the third generation is not counted, which makes it more difficult to get accurate figures. From the third generation on, then, the "melting pot" process evidently assumes the dominant role in Americanization.⁸

The Census does, however, report that from 1820 to 1974, 5,259,026 immigrants emigrated from Italy to this country. The only other immigrant group to surpass this number is the German with 6,948,299.⁹ In addition, there were 4,240,729 Italian-American population classified as foreign stock,¹⁰ which is the highest of all other groups in 1970 (12.6 percent). Of this number, 3,916,288 (or 13.5 percent) were classified as urban, again the highest in absolute terms of all other foreign stock groups. The 1960 figures are similar, although slightly higher: 4,543,935 (13.3 percent) total Italian-American foreign stock; 4,168,983 (14.6 percent) urban. Thus, 92.3 percent of Italian-American foreign stock lived in urban areas in 1970; ten years earlier, 91.7 percent resided in urban areas.¹¹

⁵Francesco Cordasco, "The Risorgimento of Italian-American Studies," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies*, Vol. 11 (Winter 1975), pp. 104-11.

⁶Rudolph J. Vecoli, "The Italian Americans," *The Center Magazine*, Vol. VII (July-August 1974), p. 39.

⁷Cordasco, "The Risorgimento," pp. 104 and 111.

⁸Joseph Velikonja, "The Italian Immigration in the United States," in Silvano M. Tomasi and Madeline H. Engel, eds., *The Italian Experience in the United States* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1970).

⁹*Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1975, p. 101.

¹⁰The Census Bureau defines "Foreign Stock" as "including the foreign-born population and the native population of foreign or mixed parentage. Persons of foreign stock thus comprise all first- and second-generation Americans."

¹¹U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics*, Final Report PC (1) United States Summary (Washington, D.C., 1972), Table 70.

The urban preferences of Italian-Americans has been consistently strong. This pattern developed at the turn of the twentieth century when the so-called "new immigration" arrived in such large numbers at the time of American urbanization and industrialization. Here is where the jobs were. It is clear then that the Italian immigrant is part of a major urban migration. One scholar has pointed out the relative importance of the immigrant in urban America in 1910 as indicated in the Census of that year. The foreign stock population of all inhabitants accounted for the following percentages in 1910: 77 percent in Chicago, 78 percent in New York City, 74 percent in Detroit, 74 percent in Cleveland, and 74 percent in Boston.¹² It must be remembered that 8.8 million immigrants entered the U.S. in the first decade of the twentieth century, the largest number for any comparable period. Throughout the twentieth century, the Italian-Americans have concentrated more than two-thirds of their members from north of Boston to south of Norfolk, Virginia. The basic pattern of settlement has been reinforced by later Italian immigrants. Recent figures show that 71.1 percent of all Italian immigrants who arrived in 1960-1965 were registered in the Northeast; this trend has continued as 72.2 percent in 1966-1967 and 72.15 percent in January, 1968, of all resident Italian aliens were registered in the Northeast.¹³ The number of rural communities that Italian immigrants settled in never reached the influence or significance of the urban experience. Some of the rural communities were Tontitown and Sunnyside in Arkansas, Rosati in Missouri, Roseto in Pennsylvania, Johnsboro and Herrin in Illinois, Independence and Hammand in Louisiana, Paradise Ridge in Tennessee, Alta Loma and Victoria in Texas, and Genoa in Wisconsin.¹⁴

There are many reasons for the strong attachment of the Italians to the central city. Life in the city offers closer family and personal relationships. Opportunity for assisting one another; visiting; participating in life's rituals such as births, baptisms, weddings, etc.; and sharing information all were important functions in the urban Italian's existence. The Italian did not have money to invest and purchase land. Upon landing in the United States, he was met by friends or relatives and given a "start." The "Little Italies" sprang up in the Northeast and Midwestern cities. In Chicago, for example, many "Little Italies" developed into viable ethnic communities. Contrary to earlier conclusions, the Italian immigrant did not experience alienation. The South Italian rural peasants reconstructed their native villages in the center of urban-industrial Chicago. It was because of *campanilismo* that the Italian family and villagers continued to provide strength and support in Chicago. The immigrants were sustained by the old world customs as typified in the *festa*, or feast-day, celebration. The old world custom of veneration of the saints and madonnas deflected loneliness and alienation. During the religious festival, the "procession created the illusion of

¹²Humbert S. Nelli, *Italians in Chicago 1880-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. xi.

¹³Velikonja, "The Italian Immigration in the United States," pp. 28-37.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 28; Luciana J. Iorizzo, "The Padrone and Immigrant Distribution," in Silvano M. Tomasi and Madeline H. Engle, eds., *The Italian Experience in the United States* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1970), pp. 63-64.

being once more back home."¹⁵ The *festa* continues to this day as a vital part of Italian-American ethnic life.

A distinctive characteristic of the urban Italian-American experience is the stability of residency. Although there has been some movement to suburban areas, Italian-Americans have been resistant to out migration.¹⁶ Daniel P. Moynihan and Nathan Glazer have stated that:

The first Italian neighborhoods proved remarkably stable. Areas that were Italian in 1920 remain so, somewhat attenuated, today. . . . While the Jewish map of New York City in 1920 bears almost no relation to that in 1960, the Italian districts, though weakened in some cases and strengthened in others, are still in large measure what they were.¹⁷

The family represents so strong an institution for the Italians that the children feel an obligation to care for aging parents. Italian-Americans are reluctant to put their aging parents in hospitals and nursing homes. One scholar recently described "*L'ordine della famiglia*" as the system most important to the *contadino* class. This system is the "unwritten but all-demanding and complex system of rules governing one's relations with, and responsibilities to, his own family, and his posture outside the family."¹⁸ Thus, for the Italian-American there represented the conflict-dilemma of "*la via vecchia*" versus "*la via nuova*." An understanding of the old way of family life is critical in the real understanding of the Italian-Americans. The old way does not die easily after centuries of development, and tradition plays a major role in Italian-American life. Richard Gambino quotes the old Sicilian proverb, "*Chi lascia la via vecchia per la nuova, sa quel che perde e non sa quel che trova*."--"Whoever forsakes the old way for the new knows what he is losing but not what he will find."¹⁹

In their excellent study of New York City's major ethnic groups, Moynihan and Glazer state the true understanding of the Italian-Americans rests in the Italian neighborhood and the family. Despite the adaption to American society, after three generations the family and the neighborhood determine to a great extent the accomplishments of the Italian-Americans.²⁰ In fact, one need only visit the North End of Boston, Mulberry Street in New York City's Little Italy, South Philadelphia, the West Side of Cleveland, and South Brooklyn to sense the tenacity of Italianness in these communities.

Most of the Italians arriving in the United States came from southern Italy

¹⁵Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago," *Journal of American History*, Vol. 51 (December 1964), pp. 404-17.

¹⁶R. J. Vecoli, "The Italian American," p. 33.

¹⁷Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1963), p. 187.

¹⁸Richard Gambino, *Blood of My Blood* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1974), pp. 4-5.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 3-5.

²⁰Glazer and Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot*, p. 186.

(*mezzogiorno*) where illiteracy, poverty, and deprivation prevailed. They provided the muscle as general laborers in unskilled, low-paying jobs. Italians displaced the Irish in excavation, in construction work on railroads, buildings, dams, and streets.²¹ The raw power of Italian immigrants helped build Philadelphia's City Hall, the Reading Terminal, and the Broad Street and Market Street subways.²² The Italian immigrant worker was overworked, underpaid, and driven by ruthless supervisors. This experience was repeated in other major cities across the country.

The "padrone" system developed to meet certain needs of the Italian immigrants. Unfamiliar with the language and lacking contacts, the labor boss emerged as the intermediary to locate jobs for the unskilled immigrants, usually those who worked in gangs and seasonal work. The padrone knew the language, maintained contact with employers, and was familiar with the economic system. For this service he received a commission or fee. The padrone exploited the immigrants because of the latter's ignorance and needs. As one scholar states: "To the laborers, the Padrone was banker, saloon-keeper, grocer, steamship agent, lodginghouse keeper, and politician. But his most important function was that of employment agent."²³

The general consensus about the padrone system has been negative. The padrone was viewed as a merciless, parasitical middleman engaged in illegal activities and exploiting his fellow countrymen.²⁴ Recent research, however, has indicated that the "traditional" assessment of the evil boss retarding the economic and social mobility of his fellow countrymen is untrue and misleading." Admittedly, evils resulted from the system, but there were positive contributions. The padroni served as "agents of Americanization"; they guided Italian immigrants to America; they offered opportunities to the immigrants; they directed the vanguard of Italian population to various sections of the country; they provided the leadership for the Italians.²⁵

The new immigration workers were quickly singled out as strikebreakers and anti-union during the period of industrialization. As part of this movement, the Italian immigrants became identified in this way. There can be no doubt that the immigrant, unaware of labor-management relations and seeking to survive in a strange environment, did participate in anti-union activities. But newer findings indicate that many immigrants did engage in activities to improve the condition of labor. As part of the great urban proletarian immigration, Italian leaders turned their attention to the evils of urban-industrial America. Labeled conservative and anti-union, the Italian working men and women formed the backbone of the textile strike

²¹R. J. Vecoli, "The Italian Americans," p. 33.

²²Caroline Golab, "The Immigrant and the City: Poles, Italians, and Jews in Philadelphia, 1870-1920," in Allen F. Davis and Mark H. Hiller, eds., *The Peoples of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973), p. 214.

²³R. J. Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago," p. 411.

²⁴For an analysis of the padrone system, see Salvatore J. LaGumina, "Reflections of An Italian-American Worker," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies*, Vol. 3 (Summer 1975), pp. 65-77.

²⁵Luciano J. Iorizzo and Salvatore Mondello, *The Italian-Americans* (New York: Twayne, 1971), pp. 138-58.

in Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1912. Battling low pay (\$8.76 per week), long hours (fifty-six hours per week), a cut in wages, and hazardous working conditions, the workers struck. Two Italians who played a key role in the strike were Joseph Ettor, Brooklyn born, twenty-seven years old, a member of the executive board of the International Workers of the World, and Arturo Giovannitti, Abruzzi-born poet and editor of the Italian Socialist Federation newspaper, *Il Proletario*. Both Ettor and Giovannitti were charged with the murder of striker Anna LoPizzo during the picketing. The strike ended in victory for the workers, and later Ettor and Giovannitti were tried and acquitted in a jury trial. Carlo Tresca also played an important role in the strike, as he would in other labor struggles.²⁶

The following poignant poem by Edith Waller of the period dramatizes the plight of the Italian worker in America:

THE ITALIAN WORKMEN OF AMERICA TO AMERICANS

Give us a chance! We are men!
Not "wops and dagoes" base;
Cease with your names that would disgrace.---
The blood in our veins of an ancient race
Flows proud and fiery free;
Your scorn does ye debase.

Give us a chance! We are men!
Know ye the past whence we come?
Back of us Rome, the glory of Rome!
St. Peter's embracing dome.
The law and art of the world.
Have ye a name like Rome?

Give us a chance! We are men!
Forth our Columbus bold,
Braving defeats untold,
Out of the seas of darkness old,
Brought light to your continent new
For ye to have and hold.

Give us a chance! We are men!
Today Marconi stands
And weaves the nations' strands,
Annihilates seas and lands,
Holds elements in thrall
To make the worlds join hands.

Give us a chance! We are men!
Not earthworms born of the soil.
We would upbuild not despoil,
Faithful and earnest we toil,
But music and beauty, life's pulsing joy,
Are ours above the moil.

Americans! We are men!
Strong bodies with souls of flame;

²⁶Erik Amfithleatrof, *The Children of Columbus* (Boston: Little Brown, 1973), pp. 173-89.

Where ye can progress claim
Help us to win the same,
Give us a chance, but a chance---
Forget not Italy's name!²⁷

Italian-Americans were resented for living in the cities. They were seen as alien, atavistic, paupers, and criminals in the early part of the century. They congregated in overcrowded tenements and neighborhoods in some of the most frightful living conditions; they allegedly lacked family life. Nativists charged the Italian immigrants with infecting American cities and thus compounding the urban problems.²⁸ Anti-Italian broadsides, drawings, cartoons, and articles redounded in such periodicals and newspapers as *World's Work*, *North American Review*, *Life*, *Judge*, *Leslie's Weekly*, and the *New York Times*. The Italian immigrants were labeled as inferior at a time when social Darwinism prevailed. In 1901, it was even necessary to organize the Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants in New York. The literacy test, World War I, the Red Scare, the Ku Klux Klan, the National Origins Quota Acts, and the general rise of nativism hurt Italians and other immigrants.²⁹

Anti-Italianism is perhaps best symbolized in the attention given to criminal activities in the media, literature, and popular culture. There have been more references of crime to Italian-Americans than of any other subject in the United States. An obsession of crime and the Italian-American has gripped the public in what has been referred to as the "Mafia mystique": "Titles for organized crime associations are synonymous with Italian-American names."³⁰ It is no wonder that Mario Puzo's *The Godfather* has enjoyed more popular and commercial success than all the other novels written by and about this ethnic group in the United States.

The public has been so saturated with the Mafia theme that, in effect, a conditioning process has taken place around the term. The mental picture of the Mafia in the public mind, made up as it is of myth and fact, has tended to blur our vision of the real world.³¹

The entire stereotype of the Italian-American, as depicted in cartoons, focuses on the furtive, suspicious-looking criminal type who is seen lurking in the shadows with a gun and stiletto poised for use on innocent prey. The formation of the Italian Anti-Defamation League in 1966, which later changed its name to Americans of Italian Descent, pressured and rallied against the criminal references. Some success was achieved when the Nixon administration agreed to stop using the terms

²⁷As quoted in *The Italian in America: The Progressive View 1891-1914*, Lydio F. Tomasi, ed. (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1972), p. 213.

²⁸Humbert S. Nelli, "Italians in Urban America," in Silvano M. Tomasi and Madeline H. Engel, eds., *The Italian Experience in the United States* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1970), p. 77.

²⁹Salvatore J. LaGumina, *Wop! A Documentary History of Anti-Italian Discrimination in the United States* (San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1973), pp. 10-15.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 16.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 19.

"Mafia" and "Cosa Nostra." The National Broadcasting Company and the New York *Times* also yielded to these tactics. But much more remained to be done.³²

In spite of these accomplishments, when one turns to the political experience of the Italian-Americans, their numbers in the population have not entirely gained a proportionate place of power in high office. The names of such persons as John Pastore, John Sirica, Peter Rodino, Jack Valenti, Anthony J. Celebrezze, and John Volpe advanced to prominent public positions, but they hardly represent the potential power inherent in their numbers. As an urban ethnic group, however, the greatest impact made by the Italian-Americans in politics was in the East Harlem section of Manhattan in New York City. East Harlem has been classified as the "social frontier," always a community in transition for various groups who settle, succeed, and move out to higher status areas. Northern Europeans had resided here in its early history; the Jews moved in around 1900, followed by Italians, Negroes, and Puerto Ricans.³³ East Harlem became the "cradle of Italian-American Congressmen" at a time when their influence extended from 1917 to 1962. These Italian-American Congressmen were Fiorello LaGuardia, James Lanzetta, Vito Marcantonio, and Alfred E. Santangelo. The most successful was LaGuardia, who also served as Mayor of New York City from 1933 to 1945. LaGuardia signified the breakthrough in which he triumphantly challenged the reign of Irish-American political control. He fully exploited his ethnic background, and the Italian-American voters overwhelmingly supported him.³⁴

The other outstanding but controversial Congressman was Marcantonio, who was variously labeled as a reformer, a radical, and a communist. Marcantonio, a protegee of LaGuardia, represented East Harlem from the 1930's to the early 1950's; he was defeated by Lanzetta in 1932 and in 1936. Hated and loved during his lifetime, recent investigation has concluded he was ahead of his time. Marcantonio's success rested on service to the people, protector of the oppressed, and advocate of unpopular causes. Marcantonio "scored best in low rent areas, especially those inhabited by Italo-Americans. He was strongly supported by the nation's most recent arrivals and the Negroes. . . . Marcantonio's leadership was rooted in the working class. . . ."³⁵ An associate of W. E. B. DuBois and Paul Robeson, Marcantonio has been rated (along with LaGuardia) as a national reformer by historian Arthur Mann. Mann has said that "the only angry men in politics were ethnics," and he likened radical leaders of ethnic groups with today's black leaders who view American society from the outside. Thus Afro-Americans feel a sense of pride and satisfaction in their support of and identification with black leaders.³⁶

It is instructive to examine briefly the career of Leonard Covello (1887-) who was a leader of the East Harlem community and a man who spent forty-five years

³²R. J. Vecoli, "The Italian Americans," p. 41.

³³Leonard Covello with Guido D'Agostino, *The Teacher in the Urban Community* (New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1970), pp. 179-80.

³⁴Salvatore J. LaGumina, *Ethnicity in American Political Life--The Italian American Experience* (New York: American Italian Historical Association, 1968), pp. 8, 21-33.

³⁵Salvatore J. LaGumina, *Vito Marcantonio, The People's Politician* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Co., 1969), p. 88.

³⁶LaGumina, *Ethnicity in American Political Life*, pp. 34-35.

in the New York City public school system. Dr. Covello relates in his autobiography how he migrated with his family from southern Italy to the United States. In his first days in school, he brought home his report card to have his immigrant parents sign it. His parents became furious when they noticed the teacher had left out the "i" from Coviello. Leonard said that every time Mrs. Cutter pronounced his name, it came out Covello; she therefore had Americanized the name. His father finally signed the report card. His mother said, "A person's life and his honor is in his name. He never changes it."³⁷

After graduating from Columbia and receiving a Phi Beta Kappa key, Covello became a language teacher at Dewitt Clinton High School, and he soon learned that there was more to teaching than the mere labor of memorizing verbs and doing translations. The students he taught came from many nationalities, and it seemed they were not too interested in school work. Covello believed that a rapport should be established with the student. He devised the community-centered school as contrasted with the subject-centered and the child-centered schools. The community-centered school in an urban setting became a reality with the establishment of Benjamin Franklin High School in East Harlem, and he served as the first principal (1934-1957). The community-centered school then taught academic subjects to students but also involved the cooperative energies and resources of parents, teachers, students, all local leaders, and neighborhood agencies. This system would especially serve the needs of the immigrant child and also develop understanding, tolerance, and positive civic relationships.³⁸ For Covello, the "neighborhood school . . . would be the educational, civic, and social center of the community. We wanted to go beyond the traditional subject-centered and the current child-centered school to the community-centered school."³⁹ Benjamin Franklin High School uplifted the immigrants, especially the Italian-Americans, who worked in low-paying, manual, low prestige jobs. Covello also aided in organizing the Casa Italiana at Columbia University to serve as a clearinghouse for all information on the Italian-Americans. He became the Executive Director of the Casa Italiana Educational Agency.⁴⁰

Aside from the family, the Catholic Church has played a vital role for the Italians in America. The Catholic Church in the United States has been largely controlled by the Irish, whose devotion to Catholicism is quite different from Italians'. The Irish practiced their religion with a deep commitment to the faith, a respect for the clergy, and combined it with politics by making it anti-British. The southern Italians harbored bitter memories toward the organized Church, which exploited them and held little regard for them. The *contadini* believed in God and the Saints and participated in the sacraments (mainly the women), but the faith became shrouded in mysticism quite alien to the Irish-American version of Catholicism. Most important was the *festa*, or religious feast, which brought the community together to honor a Saint and to have the participants enjoy themselves

³⁷ Covello, *The Teacher in the Urban Community*, pp. 28-30.

³⁸ Francesco Cordasco, "Leonard Covello and the Community School," *School & Society* (Summer 1970), pp. 298-99.

³⁹ Covello, *The Teacher in the Urban Community*, p. 182.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

with good food, fellowship, gaiety, and a public demonstration of religiosity.⁴¹

The Catholic Church in America also sought to Americanize the immigrants, and it was believed that this goal had been effectively realized. However, recent scholarship points in the opposite direction. The attempt to Americanize the immigrants increased ethnic tension and led to the creation of ethnic parishes in order to maintain the Old World traditions of the newly-arrived immigrants.⁴² The ethnic parish for the Italians played a vital role in meeting specific needs of this alien group, facilitated the process of assimilation, maintained the sense of community and group solidarity, and served as a power base in the struggle among contending forces for advancement in American urban society. The creation of the ethnic or national parish as a religious institution was not to be shared with the rest of America.⁴³

The Italian-Americans since World War II have made considerable headway in the mainstream of contemporary society. Anticlericalism certainly has declined but not disappeared, and they are gaining greater representation in power positions. For example, Francis Mugavero became Bishop of the Brooklyn Diocese in 1968, and other influential priests such as James Groppi, Paul Asciolla, Geno Baroni, Silvano Tomasi, and Lydio Tomasi have emerged as prominent spokesmen in religious and ethnic affairs. The emergence of an Italian-American middle class with its emphasis on education has led to sizeable student populations in Catholic institutions of higher learning such as Seton Hall, St. John's, and Fordham University, and public institutions. Yet distinctive religious practices persist among Italian-Americans, especially the *fešta*, which today enjoys much success among the second and third generations.

Italian-Americans moved with other groups after World War II to the suburbs, where they resided next to neighbors of other ethnic backgrounds. Professor Vecoli believes that this social mobility created for many the need to identify more strongly along ethnic lines. Italians, long noted for their inability to unify, continued to proliferate along organizational lines. Thus lodges of the Sons of Italy, regional chapters of the American-Italian Historical Association, and new organized professional groups symbolize the resurgence of Italian ethnicity in suburban areas. Other aspects of suburban Italianness can be seen in the increase of Columbus Day parades, restaurants, and bakeries. The 1970 Census reported that Italian-Americans were the largest foreign stock group in the New York City suburban counties of Nassau and Suffolk.

On the other hand, Italianness continued to flourish within the city boundaries. The Little Italy Restoration Association seeks to maintain and rejuvenate this section of New York City's Lower East Side. New York City Planning Department's proposal calls for the conversion of the old police headquarters into an Italian-American cultural center. The Italian-American Center for Urban Affairs, Inc., represents one of many such organizations

⁴¹ Joseph Lopreato, *Italian Americans* (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 87-91.

⁴² "Immigrants and Religion: The Persistence of Ethnic Diversity," *Spectrum*, Vol. 1 (September 1975), pp. 1-2.

⁴³ Silvano Tomasi, *Piety and Power: The Role of Italian Parishes in the New York Metropolitan Area, 1880-1930* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1975), pp. 1-2.

"dedicated to the social, economic, political, and educational advancement of the Italian-American community." The Italian-American Faculty-Student Association at Queensborough Community College attempts to get its members involved in public affairs. The Center for Migration Studies in Staten Island houses archival materials on the Italian-Americans. Richard Gambino, author of the best-seller *Blood of My Blood*, directs the Italian-American Studies Department at Queens College. Despite the decline of the quality of urban life, Boston's North End, South Brooklyn, South Philadelphia, Cleveland's West Side, Corona in New York City's Queens County, and Baltimore contain viable Italian-American communities. The recent announcement that the New York Public Library will microfilm *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, the oldest continuously published Italian newspaper in the United States dating back to 1881, typifies the concern for studying and preserving the ethnic experience of this group. The National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs under Geno Baroni emphasizes neighborhood restoration and community organization.

Thus, the urban experience of the Italian-Americans has been variegated. This large ethnic group has relied heavily upon its family structure for sustenance and strength. As part of the so-called new immigration arriving after 1880, they came from southern Italy largely illiterate, unskilled, and poor; and they tended to regard most institutions, except the family, with suspicion. They were exploited by the padrone and the American capitalistic system, performing manual work for low pay. They became an integral part of the great urban proletariat. Though most were loyal to the system, radicalism did emerge among such prominent leaders as Carlo Tresca, Joseph Ettor, Arturo Giovannitti, Nicola Sacco, Bartolomeo Vanzetti, and Vito Marcantonio. Considered socially inferior, they experienced an intolerance that culminated in the National Origins Quota Acts of the 1920's, which closed off the immigration flow from southern and eastern Europe. Packed in urban ghettos, initial advancement came slowly because of their early suspicions of the new culture and lack of academic achievement. The community-centered school became one attempt at assisting the immigrant child. The feast, novenas, the ethnic parish, veneration of the saints and the Madonna, mysticism, and anti-clericalism characterized their religious experience. Residential stability, modest one and two family houses with small gardens became important parts of their ethnic neighborhoods. They have been underrepresented in official political positions, although leaders such as Peter Rodino, John Sirica, Fiorello LaGuardia, Vito Marcantonio, Joseph Alioto, John Volpe, John O. Pastore, and Jack Valenti have distinguished themselves in public service. They have begun to organize into effective interest and scholarly groups. Even though mobility to the suburbs has developed and they are scattered in various rural parts of the country, they remain basically an urban population. As the American cities become more non-white, the danger of racial conflict and the potential for racial cooperation offer challenges for the future. Despite the obvious obstacles and sufferings, the United States has been a land of opportunity and advancement for the Italian-American.

THE MEXICAN MENACE, EAST CHICAGO, INDIANA, 1932

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The joy and happiness that once saturated the streets of the *colonia* seemed to have disappeared as families were busily transporting their household belongings to the Pennsylvania Railroad Station. It was a spring Sunday afternoon, May 8, 1932, and a certain sadness filled the air. At the station three special passenger cars and a baggage car were added to the regular train. Approximately 150 Mexicanos were about to leave for Mexico. But the joy that comes from the feeling that one is homeward bound was not present that afternoon.¹

Señor Villegas, his wife, who had come to join him in the early part of the decade, and their three children² (two of them U.S. citizens) worked all afternoon to get their belongings to the train station. It became very difficult for Señor Villegas to accept the fact that he was leaving. He had always expected to return to Mexico a much more prosperous man, at least with enough financial backing so as to purchase a good piece of land and work it until a ripe old age. But now he was going back, with a family, and not very much to show for half a life's work.³

The attitude of Jaime, his twelve-year-old son, did not make the ordeal any easier. Jaime insisted all day that he was not going to Mexico. He argued, "I am an American, and this is where I belong, not Mexico." Señor Villegas recognized the fact that Jaime was born and raised in the Harbor and could speak much better English than Spanish. He also knew that most of his friends would stay behind, but he certainly could not leave his son.

At 4:15 that afternoon everybody started to board the special section that was added for the Mexicano passengers. Hundreds of friends and relatives gathered in a very touching scene. Señor Villegas pulled Jaime on board while other parents squabbled with their children to get them on board. For many it was a saddening occasion. The next day the local newspaper would report the event, speculating about the sensation that the belongings carried by the Mexicanos would cause in Mexico.

¹Lake County Times (May 9, 1932). All of those interviewed describe the event in similar fashion.

²This was a large family compared to the average Mexican family in the Harbor. According to the Census (Fifteenth Census of the United States 1930, *Population Foreign-born Families* [Washington: G.P.O., 1932], p. 213), the medium Mexican family size in the Harbor was 3.68.

³According to the Fifteenth Census, only thirteen Mexicans owned homes in East Chicago.

At 4:37 p.m. the train pulled out of the Harbor and headed for Mexico. The train's destination was El Paso; there all the passengers would transfer to the Mexican National Railway. The plan was to take the families as close as possible to their original homes (see Figure 1). By that date, five hundred families had already left the Harbor via train, truck, or automobile.⁴ Many of those who went by car were forced to abandon their automobiles near the border due to worn out tires or ruined motors.⁵

It was not by accident that all these families were leaving town, but rather part of a well-organized and executed plan. The plan, or "scheme," as the local newspaper labeled it, was to send two thousand Mexicans back to their homeland. The plan was conceived by one of the upright citizens of the city, Judge M. E. Crites. Its purpose was to relieve the township of the "burden of supporting them" (the Mexicans).⁶

Mexicanos had not always been considered a burden to the East Chicago community. In fact, their services were actively sought out a few years earlier. In 1919 the Inland Steel Company had hired *enganchistas* (labor contractors) and sent them to Kansas City, San Antonio, and El Paso to seek out Mexicano workers. By December of that year, several hundred Mexicanos had been shipped to the Mill to help break the steel strike. Mexicanos continued to be recruited throughout the decade so that by 1928 Inland Steel Company was the largest single employer of Mexicano workers in the United States. But the prosperity of the twenties changed to the scarcity of the Depression, and Mexicanos were no longer wanted.⁷

The question of relief became a very serious problem for the city in the winter of 1931-32. By April, 1932, there were twenty thousand persons receiving aid from the Community Chest, the local relief "umbrella" agency.⁸ Besides an increase in the numbers being aided, the Depression was forcing their budget to be "cut to the bone."⁹ These conditions created a very serious financial problem for the township.

The problem became apparent in the region during the fall of 1930. The churches were the first to feel its effects. In November the Baptist church proudly announced that it was feeding the hungry.¹⁰ In December nearby Calumet City announced that it needed help in finding relief for the poor.¹¹

⁴Lake County Times (May 9, 1932).

⁵The Detroit News (November 11, 1932).

⁶Lake County Times (May 3, 1932).

⁷Paul Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the Calumet Region* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1931), p. 36.

⁸Lake County Times (April 15, 1932).

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid. (November 28, 1930).

¹¹Ibid. (December 13, 1930).

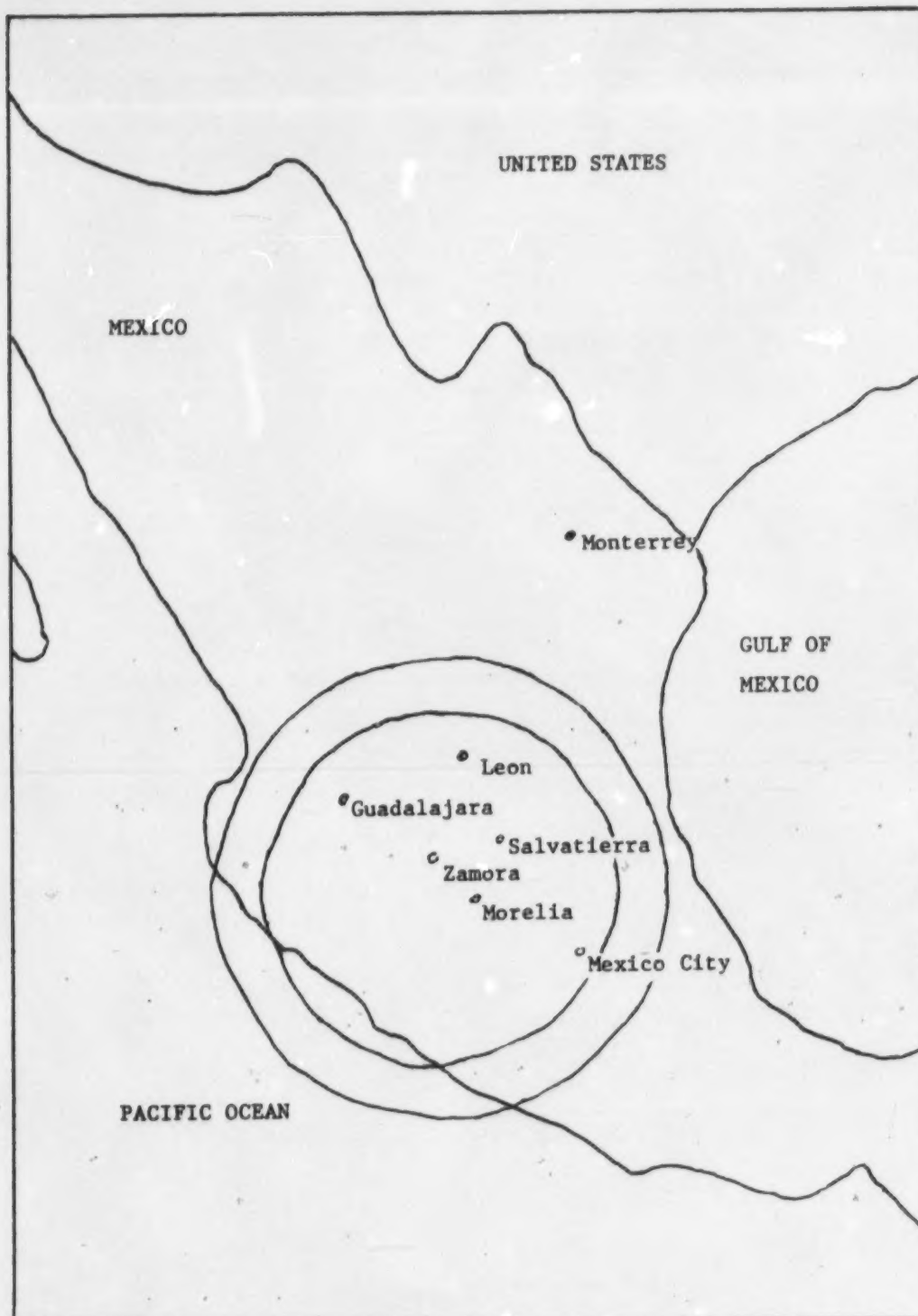


Figure 1. Cities of destination of 25 or more persons on trains that left the Harbor in 1932. Total persons that left on these trains was 1,347.

*Source: American Legion Repatriation file.

The East Chicago city schoolteachers, who were closer to the problem than the average person, collected \$1,285 which they contributed to the relief agencies of the city.¹² In April of 1931, the city announced that taxes would double, the reason being the need for helping the poor.¹³ The dole system, a means by which the unemployed were helped financially, came under attack for helping the poor. Many felt that the poor should be put to work. The eventual outcome was just that,¹⁴ but the problem persisted.

The first solution to the relief problem was to ask all who were receiving aid to work at least one day a week for the city. "No work, no relief" became the slogan adopted by the local newspaper.¹⁵ It quickly became evident that this solution was inadequate. The American Legion and the United States Employment Bureau developed another plan whereby odd jobs were provided for two hours a day.¹⁶ In spite of all these plans, the situation appeared to be more critical every day. Everyone agreed that the welfare agencies were being taxed to the limit.¹⁷

When it became apparent that the situation would not improve, several community leaders met to seek solutions to the problem. The American Legion and the Emergency Relief Association, under the leadership of Judge Crites, Russell F. Robinson, and Paul E. Kelly, decided that the most effective method of dealing with the crisis was to remove the nationalities, which meant the Mexicans. First, they approached the United States Department of Labor, hoping that it would deport them.¹⁸

In a letter to the United States Department of Labor of March 4, 1932, Paul Kelly, one of the officials in charge of the repatriation plan, described the situation in East Chicago in the following manner. The community had a problem. The problem was approximately seven hundred-odd Mexican families living in the Harbor. The charitable organizations were caring for the bulk of these persons. "Herein is our problem to rid this community of Mexicans." He explained that most of them cannot stand "our severe winter season." Many are afflicted with syphilis and others with tuberculosis. The entire employment problem of the county would be solved if they (the Mexicans) were gone. He also reported that those here less than three years were willing to sign an affidavit or statement that they would never return to the United States.¹⁹

¹²*Ibid.* (January 2, 1931).

¹³*Ibid.* (April 15, 1931).

¹⁴*Ibid.* (April 20, 22, 1931).

¹⁵*Ibid.* (February 3, 1932).

¹⁶*Ibid.* (April 9, 1932).

¹⁷American Legion File on Repatriation. (This file is located in the East Chicago Public Library. It contains letters concerning repatriation and lists of Mexicanos who went back to Mexico in 1932.)

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹Letter from Department of Labor, American Legion Repatriation File.

The result of this plea for help was a promise from the Department of Labor of a comprehensive survey through the Bureau of Immigration. An immediate investigation was conducted in the city with a view to "removing" Mexican indigents and "illegal" entrants insofar as possible under law. The results of this investigation were negative. The Bureau of Immigration found that few of the Mexicanos in East Chicago were deportable.²⁰ That left the community in the same predicament: how to get rid of the Mexicans.

Eventually, with the help of the Mexican government and big business, the problem was given a solution. In order to give the impression that the removal of Mexicanos was not a deportation, contact was made with the Mexican government. Mexico, according to authorities who supported repatriation efforts, being in dire need of labor, was ready to welcome all repatriates who wanted to return to the homeland. The supposed labor needs of Mexico helped to alleviate the consciences of those involved in the problem. They rationalized as follows: The Mexican government is constructing many public works--railroads, public buildings, and irrigation projects; consequently, the Mexican workers will help to rehabilitate an exploited land.²¹

Most of the funds for the project came from the industry of the city. With the problem of financing out of the way, the project was executed with great precision. The industry was credited the money that it advanced on its 1933 taxes. The railroad companies reduced their rates to fifteen dollars, approximately half the regular fare, for shipments of fifty persons or more. By the fall of 1932, the *colonia* was reduced to less than half of its original size.²²

Most of the shipments, such as the one Señor Villegas went on, were from 150 to 200 people. All details for the trip were handled by the legionnaires of Twin City Post #266. On four occasions (June 2, July 25, August 23, and September 27), four solid trains left for Laredo, Texas. On these occasions, the legionnaires went with the nine car trains and stayed with the group until the Mexican government picked them up. The legionnaires were proud that they had provided first-class accommodations to the Mexicanos compared to third-class tickets provided by the Mexican government. They also provided food for the journey and warm drink and milk for small children.²³

The result of the removal plan was that three thousand Mexicanos were removed from the city. This caused a great reduction in the educational cost of the city. The Township Trustees who were responsible for the care of the "indigents" were greatly relieved. And in the final analysis, the money spent was really saved in reducing the costs of the city.²⁴

Prior to the deportation shipments, many families unable to survive the severe winters due to unemployment were forced to leave for Mexico. Those who

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹American Legion File.

²²*Ibid.*

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴*Ibid.*

stayed scratched out an existence in many and varied ways. To keep warm, the men would travel up and down the railroad tracks searching for coal that had dropped from the trains. Many families were kept from a starvation diet by eating *nopales* (cactus). *Nopales* grew in the sand dunes in the nearby area, and Mexicans were able to survive the Depression years by gathering them periodically. Others survived by performing odd jobs wherever the opportunity arose.

In February of 1932, one of the most severe storms of the age hit the region. Huge drifts of snow were piled up on county highways, and Inland was forced to close down completely. This natural disaster produced work for several of the families. Inland asked that all men with overshoes come to the plant to work clearing off the snow. Several men with overshoes went in first and took them off, threw them over the fence to men waiting on the outside, who were then able to get work. In this manner, with one pair of overshoes, several men were able to work.

By the end of 1932, the plan to rid the city of Mexicans was in its final stages. Mexicanos became a scapegoat for the people of East Chicago. The problems of the nation and the city were blamed on the Mexicano immigrant. City and business leaders encouraged this type of analysis. It became easier for many to blame Mexicanos rather than to believe that all the myths about America were incorrect. Many continued to believe that freedom and equality were actually realized in their society, when in actuality workers were no longer masters of their lives during the most important part of their daily life--their working hours--and in spite of the fact that the economic system was creating class divisions as acute as those in the old country from which they had escaped.²⁵ Instead of rebelling against the economic system that burdened them with a severe economic depression, they blamed their troubles on the Mexicano. In the words of Mr. Fernandez, a resident of the *colonia*:

We weren't asked voluntarily if we wanted to go. Your name was on the list of how many days you were working in the steel. Many were working only one day every two weeks, to keep their names on the payroll of Inland Steel Company or Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company. The rest of the companies were either shut down or not available. Naturally you were put on welfare, very small amounts, food mostly. Well when the trains became available by the Good Fellows Club, the welfare people came to your house and said, "Well you're not making enough money to survive." Even though some people were staying in homes where they weren't paying one penny rent because of the deplorable conditions of the homes or the landlord didn't ask for money because there was no money available.

So they told you, "You are making \$7.00 or \$8.00 per payday for your family. You can't feed them, you can't do nothing. So we are going to take you off welfare." "Oh, God, what are you going to do, take us off welfare? We'll starve." No, no you have an alternative. . . . go to Mexico. We have a train that is available. A train full of Mexican people. A train will stop on the corner of Michigan and Guthrie, on the Pennsylvania Railroad. And they will head for Mexico. In Mexico you will transfer and we'll take you where you come from, close, not actually there, but to the

²⁵Henry Bamford Parkes, *The American Experience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1947), pp. 258, 259.

closest town." So actually they weren't forcing you to leave, they gave you a choice, starve or go back to Mexico.²⁶

It is lamentable that the so-called "Mexican Menace" of East Chicago is not an isolated, unique experience. That is, it is not a fluke accident in American history, but rather a recurring theme in the American past. It was not the first nor the last time that Mexicanos would be considered a "menace" to American society. It is unfortunate that even as we celebrate our 200th birthday in a nation where supposedly "all men are created equal," some of our population still lacks equality of opportunity. However, it is not surprising that in a society where profits are valued above human beings, such occurrences become commonplace.

²⁶Interview with Vernon Fernandez.

MEXICAN AMERICAN ORGANIZATION IN NEW MEXICO AND TEXAS: AN URBAN EXPERIENCE OF THE 1950'S

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A more than pervasive stereotype about Mexican Americans concerns a supposedly passive and docile approach or attitude toward life. Coupled with a marked fatalism, these qualities are expressed by a meek acceptance of conditions, whatever they may be. In the Anglo and Southwestern version of this stereotype, Mexican Americans become unambitious, underachievers. Economic success means little to such people, nor does political power affect their daily lives in terms of seeking such power. Organization which requires aggressive, goal-oriented personalities is impossible. The ultimate conclusion of such a view is an attitude from those who control the most important institutions of the total society--why worry about Mexican Americans when they do not worry about themselves?¹

Unfortunately, this stereotype and myth have not been effectively attacked by scholars, especially Chicano scholars. Substantive research on positive organizational activities of Mexican Americans has not been presented in the recent plethora of Chicano literature. The possible inference to any reader could be that none existed. A most obvious and serious lack of such detail appears in the period of the immediate post World War II years. Indeed Manual Servin calls these people a nonachieving generation. Rudolfo Acuña does not ignore the presence of some effort but is hard pressed to describe any worthwhile evidence of extensive opposition to Anglo oppression. Most other Chicano historians have the same problem in the twenty odd years after the war. However, when these researchers reach the 1960's, a new eagerness appears in their vigor to describe the successes of Cesar Chávez, Corky González, José Angel Gutiérrez, and even Reies Tijerina. The "Chicano" movement becomes the focus of a new political and social consciousness apart from the failures of preceding periods.

But did nothing precede this movement? Were Mexican Americans passive, docile, nonachievers until 1965? Or did the post-war generation, in fact, offer sustained, extensive, and, in many cases, successful programs and organization to Chicano society? The answer is a resounding yes.

A part of that generation's contributions involved World War II and its effect on American society. Most importantly, those normally relegated to

¹See Herbert Hirsh, "Political Scientists and Other Camaradas: Academic Mythmaking and Racial Stereotypes," in Rudolph O. De la Garza, Z. Anthony Kruszewski, and Tomas A. Arciniega, eds., *Chicanos and Native Americans. Territorial Minorities* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1973), pp. 10-22; and Octavio I. Ramano-V., "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican American," in *Voices: Readings from El Grito* (Berkeley: Quinto Sol, 1973), pp. 43-56.

subordinate status by the Anglo power structure found themselves in a "peculiar" position. More than 500,000 Mexican Americans served in the armed forces of the United States. Most of these individuals participated for the first time in their lives in a less prejudiced, less class oriented structure without the civilian restrictions so dominant in the pre-war period.² After considerable success in Europe and other combat theaters, many of these people believed they had earned a fair share of the American dream. In Texas, New Mexico, and other parts of the Southwest, they discovered that Anglo Americans disagreed. Fortunately for all Mexican Americans, several veterans in Corpus Christi, Texas, would not accept that traditional relationship.

In March of 1948, over seven hundred ex-servicemen organized and called themselves the American G.I. Forum. Led by Dr. Hector Perez Garcia, a Corpus Christi physician and former major in the U.S. Army, this group at first sought a more fair and efficient service from the Veterans Administration in the distribution of benefits and compensations under the G.I. Bill of Rights. After eliminating most of the difficulties, the Forum became involved in several regional issues, including health care, education, and general improvement of city services to the *barrio*. However, despite some success in these endeavors, the G.I. Forum still lacked any general goals or direction outside of its immediate south Texas locality. From 1949 to 1950, this situation changed dramatically.³

The Felix Longoria affair of 1949 brought the American G.I. Forum into full confrontation with the Texas establishment. In a bitter, dangerous, and successful struggle over the rights of a widow to bury her husband, Pvt. Felix Longoria, with honor and dignity, Dr. Garcia and the G.I. Forum established themselves as a new representative for Texas Mexican Americans.⁴ In 1950, that representation became more significant when the organization expanded to New Mexico. In the next decade, the G.I. Forum became a national organization with over 20,000 members. In addition to Texas and New Mexico, Colorado, Ohio, Utah, Kansas, Nebraska, California, Arizona, Missouri, Michigan, Illinois, Wyoming, Oklahoma, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Indiana became G.I. Forum states. Depending on a local grass-roots structure for its strength, Forum members sought new opportunities and a redress of old problems for *la gente*. Public discrimination, school segregation, police brutality, fair employment, and individual rights attracted the dynamic attention of these activists.⁵ While not limited to Texas and New Mexico, the programs and achievements in these two states best illustrate the contributions of the organization and its members to the cause of a better life for Mexican Americans.

The most critical and immediate need of Chicano veterans in Corpus Christi concerned health care. Veterans hospitals had decreased the available facilities in the south Texas region due to budget restraints. In the past, the lack of an

²Raul Morin, *Among the Valiant: Mexican Americans in World War II and Korea* (Los Angeles: Boddien Publishing Co., 1963).

³Carl Allsup, "The American G.I. Forum: A History of a Mexican American Organization," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1976, Chapter 2.

⁴*Ibid.*; and Carl Allsup, "A Soldier's Burial," *Revista Chicano-Riqueña*, Vol. IV, No. 4 (1976).

⁵Carl Allsup, "The American G.I. Forum," Chapters 4 and 6.

effective interest group response to this situation had allowed the negligence of the V.A. to go unnoticed. But in 1950, the G.I. Forum corrected that condition. By emphasizing the seriousness of the hospital crisis and by sustaining a campaign for better treatment, the Texas chapters made Washington officials and Texas politicians take notice. Culminating with testimony before a Congressional committee, the Forum not only stopped the elimination of hospital services but, with the aid of Congressman Lloyd Bentsen and Senator Lyndon Johnson, increased available services and somewhat improved the quality of such care in Corpus Christi, despite a reduction elsewhere. In 1952, after a new crisis developed, state politicians actually requested Forum help in organizing opposition to the Washington directives. A new reality was beginning to appear in the Lone Star State.⁶

This new fact was made more apparent in 1955 to 1956. In an attempt to gain more political strength in south Texas, particularly within the major urban areas, the American G.I. Forum, the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the Railroad Brotherhoods established the Rio Grande Democratic Club. The goal of these groups was a major poll tax drive in the three major Mexican American counties of the Rio Grande Valley. Robert P. Sánchez of McAllen, Texas, an attorney and Forum member, coordinated the drive. Many other Forumers labored in the campaign as volunteer workers and poll tax deputies (registrars). Employing the techniques of constant communication, peer group enforcement, and massive sweeps of various neighborhoods, the effort produced phenomenal results. At the beginning of the drive, Mexican Americans represented 75 percent of the population but only 43 percent of the registered voters. At the conclusion of the Forum-led registration campaign, Mexican Americans held 53 percent of the total number of poll taxes. For the first time in the history of the region, Americans of Mexican descent possessed a majority of the taxes; for the first time, the voter lists reflected a more realistic population proportion. The immediate result saw Mexican Americans elected to local offices never previously held by Chicanos. At the same time, an incipient accountability was created between office holders and the electorate. A concentrated urban group gained some power and influence in their city government. A normally unrepresented people could now demand, with some hope of success, a fair share of the service that city hall should have been providing. Urban Mexican Americans had taken the initiative. Because of this accomplishment and for other more profound reasons, this Valley program engendered an enormous, and in some ways incredible, opposition from Valley authorities and the Anglo community.⁷

The *Valley Morning Star* of Harlingen, the *Valley Evening Monitor* of McAllen, and the *Brownsville Herald* unanimously condemned "the national conspiracy to take over the Valley" and the radical nature of the Mexican American activists. Labelling Senator Dennis Chavez of New Mexico, a guest speaker at political education rallies, as a traitor to the American farmer, editorials also accused the G.I. Forum of promoting class and racial warfare.⁸

⁶See "File on Hospital Crisis," Archives of the American G.I. Forum, office of Dr. Hector Garcia, Corpus Christi, Texas.

⁷"G.I. Forum Conducts Poll Tax Drive in Valley," *G.I. Forum News Bulletin* (November-December, 1956).

⁸*Ibid.*; and "Forum Blasts Newspapers," *Brownsville Herald* (January 25, 1956).

More opposition came from one of the Valley legislators who represented a constituency which was 75 percent Mexican American. This individual had supported the Forum in the Longoria affair and the hospital crisis but assumed a different view in his own area of power. This Texas State Senator assailed the "misguided or selfish forces which seek to divide us, to play up racial and religious differences in order to stir up strife and trouble." Attempting to create opposition within the Mexican American leadership, the Senator implied that the traditional Latin American groups were against the poll tax drive, but the LULAC national president pointed out LULAC's own support of such efforts. No reply was given to this rebuttal of Forum criticism of Valley politicians who maintained power by "divide and conquer" techniques.⁹

Probably the most petty, but also most illustrative, Anglo reaction involved the refusal of the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and a National Guard unit to march with the American G.I. Forum in honor of Veterans Day, ostensibly because the Forum was a political faction and not a veterans organization. Ed Idar replied to that weak rationalization:

We have come to a sad day in Texas democracy when an organization of veterans cannot join in efforts to promote--of all things, the sale of poll taxes to citizens in an area where the record shows that the majority of the citizens never have qualified themselves to vote. Apparently, Lt. Werner [the National Guard commander] ignores the fact that members of the G.I. Forum paid for the right to participate in poll tax drives with the blood, the guts, and the lives of many of their comrades left overseas . . . and only a warped and twisted logic can come out with the principle that National Guardsmen who are subject to pay the same price in the future must not march shoulder to shoulder with men who already have done so in a day set aside to commemorate the sacrifices that America's fighting men of all backgrounds made to make such commemoration possible.¹⁰

In reality, the strident outrage of the Valley community occurred because of the fear that the traditional feudal agricultural empire of the Rio Grande was threatened. Voter strength translated into political power could affect the grower-dominated twenty-five-cents-per-hour labor system which depended on *mojados* and *braceros* from Mexico. The very idea that the 5 percent of the population which had historically controlled the remaining 95 percent, including 75 percent Mexicanos, might actually have to share political power was intolerable. As the *Texas Observer* said in a Veteran's Day editorial:

What the upshot is we are not sure, but we hope they sell a lot of poll taxes. Maybe then Latins in the Valley will get to go to school more than the three and a half years they now average. Maybe then they will get paid more than the 30¢ an hour for which they now must cover. One never

⁹"Kelley Skirts Debate on Poll-Tax Campaign," *Corpus Christi Caller-Times* (December 22, 1955); Oscar Laurel to Ed Idar, November 1955, Archives of G. I. Forum.

¹⁰"G.I. Forum Conducts Poll Tax Drive in Valley," *G.I. Forum News Bulletin* (November-December, 1956).

knows of course, but it is conceivable that democracy in the Valley may, at some future date, include the Latin Americans.

Lest it be assumed that Anglo society accepted the success of the drive with grace, many local McAllen merchants who had contributed generously to the previous year's G.I. Forum Christmas party for underprivileged children refused to do so in 1955 because the McAllen Forum had participated in the poll tax drive.¹²

One parting shot came from those who simply would not welcome representation for the usually voiceless Mexican Americans. Governor Allan Shivers accused the American G.I. Forum and the A.F.L. of "urging people to pay the poll tax necessary for voting." The governor demanded an investigation of the Rio Grande Democratic Club, including its role in the "controversial" poll tax drive by the G.I. Forum, "controversial" because it had actually influenced previously unqualified Mexican Americans to vote. Bank deposit slips were stolen from G.I. Forum files in an effort to discredit the organization by hopefully proving the misuse of union and possibly federal funds. No evidence establishing the identity of the thief was gathered, but Shivers somehow acquired information regarding the financial operations of the Forum. This ludicrous attempt by Shivers highlighted the real fear of some Anglo leaders that they would be accountable to their Spanish-speaking citizens. Dr. Hector Garcia also demanded the investigation, and the Attorney General's office completely cleared the G.I. Forum of any illegalities.¹³ The only misuse of leadership in this affair was on the part of Shivers, Valley newspaper editors, growers, and others who would not tolerate any challenge to their political and economic policies.

School segregation also concerned the G.I. Forum. The first step toward quality education had to be equal access to the system provided to the general Anglo populace. Beginning with the *Delgado* decision of 1948, the Forum fought for the elimination of the pedagogical and *de jure* restrictions which resulted in segregation for Chicanos. The *Delgado* case ended the separate campus program but still allowed separate classes due to language deficiency. Ten years of persistent, frustrating, but progressive confrontations ended in 1957 with the final attempt and failure of the Texas school system to obstruct the legal establishment of Chicano integration.¹⁴

In September 1955, Dr. Garcia of Corpus Christi communicated a formal complaint to State Commissioner of Education, J. W. Edgar, about the practices of the Driscoll Consolidated I.S.D. The founder of the G.I. Forum charged that Mexican American children were placed in a segregated system. They were classified in a "beginners' class" for their first scholastic year, passed to "low

¹¹Editorial on Valley Democracy, *Daily Texan* (University of Texas, November 1955).

¹²"Some Merchants 'Resent' Poll Tax Drive, but Forum Christmas Party Still Held," *G.I. Forum News Bulletin* (January 1956).

¹³"American G.I. Forum Asking Valley Quiz," *Corpus Christi Caller-Times* (May 5, 1956); and "Forum Cleared of Poll Tax Charges," *Corpus Christi Caller-Times* (May 1956).

¹⁴For a complete story of G.I. Forum segregation cases in the 1950's, see Carl Allsup, "The American G.I. Forum."

first" in their second year, moved to "high first" in the third year, and finally graduated to a segregated second grade class in the fourth year of their elementary scholastic schedule. Apart from the *prima facie* absurdity of this situation, the doctor also alleged that the students did not receive proper testing as required from *Delgado*; children who could speak excellent English were subjected to four years of supposed training in that language.¹⁵

Even Commissioner Edgar (an opponent to previous desegregation efforts) recognized the strength of the Forum's position and urged the Driscoll officials to comply with the *Delgado* decision. The district superintendent gave a standard reply that the board of trustees would do so but needed time to construct new buildings (even though they were able to reduce the "training" to three years). That game had been played too often, and Hermina Hernandez and others, represented by Forum attorneys James DeAnda and Gus Garcia, filed suit in January 1957.¹⁶

Testimony by the Driscoll superintendent demonstrated the all too usual complacency and ignorance of Anglo educators:

It's been our [Driscoll] experience that it took a majority of the students two years to do what an English-speaking child would accomplish in one year.

[Question by DeAnda]: Any special tests for English?

[Answer by Superintendent]: No, but they will be used [nine years after *Delgado*].

[Question]: Aren't Latins offered pre-primer ahead of Anglos just starting?

[Answer]: Yes, in some respects.¹⁷

The defendant's counsel employed his own unique logic in answering the suggestion by Judge Allred that a Latin child in an Anglo class might be an incentive or merit-inducing device. The counsel replied:

If the court will give that thought further consideration, we believe it will be seen that such a method would call for a recognition of a difference in descent, and would imply that those who are not of Latin descent and their company should be preferred. When we are seeking to do away with distinctions or differences resulting from racial or ethnic differences, we would be defeating our purpose, if we follow a plan which caused small children to think that it is a desirable reward to be taken out of a group which happens to be of Latin descent and placed with a group which happens to be of Anglo descent.¹⁸

If a stenographer had not been present to transcribe this idiocy, it would be difficult to believe; Allred indicated as much.

¹⁵See "File on Driscoll Case," Archives of the American G.I. Forum.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷Deposition by Gordon Green, *Hernandez vs. Driscoll*, Civil Action 1384, 5th District Court.

¹⁸Memorandum by James V. Allred, Civil Action 1384, January 11, 1957.

While the defense itself might have been DeAnda's best weapon, the presence of Linda Pérez was incontrovertible proof of the Driscoll system's inadequacies. This young Mexican American student spoke nothing but English, yet was automatically placed in the "Mexican" first grade to learn the King's language.

Judge James V. Allred found for the plaintiff. His memorandum reached the center of the issue at hand. After a brief outline of the history of the case, Allred emphasized a number of points:

The foregoing is a generally correct statement of the issue but it overlooks the fact that the Driscoll school authorities have drawn the line, not only for beginners, but through the first and second grades, not on a basis of individual aptitudes or attainments, but against all children of Latin American extraction as a class. This is a modified continuation of the old policies under which all such children once were segregated in separate campuses through the first six grades. That the line is drawn on a racial rather than a merit basis is evidenced by the overall facts and the refusal in September 1955, to place a beginning Latin child, Linda Perez, who could speak no Spanish, in the Anglo section until after a lawyer's services had been secured. In the twelve years that the present superintendent has been at Driscoll, this is the only Mexican child that has been placed in the Anglo section and then only after the parent's intervention.¹⁹

The conclusion of Allred's findings described the Driscoll grouping of separate classes arbitrary and unreasonable:

... They are hereby enjoined and restrained and permanently enjoined and restrained from grouping in separate classrooms plaintiffs and other students of the class of person they represent upon any basis other than as herein above set forth.²⁰

In New Mexico, the G.I. Forum achieved noteworthy results in "*la lucha contra discriminacion*," in no small part due to the stalwart leadership of Vicente Ximenes. Mexican Americans of that state had more political power and strength historically than Texas, but it should not be inferred that Mexicanos of the state encountered less prejudice; in fact, the degree of such attitudes varied little, but the absence of border conditions of Texas and the different history of the state (i.e., no *Alamos* in New Mexico) did offer a different scale of discrimination. In 1953, the New Mexico G.I. Forum began a campaign to enact an anti-discrimination law in public places, a law with monetary fines, prison terms (30 to 90 days), and a revocation of license of any public place in violation of said law. The New Mexico House killed the bill with a tie vote, but the Forum did not desist in its efforts to secure such legislation. Working in 1953 to draw up another legislative program, the New Mexico organization geared up for an intense campaign to push the program through the 1955 regular session. Gaining support from the Catholic hierarchy, LULAC, American Federation of Labor, and the NAACP, not to mention the continuing work by Forum members, a legislative program was presented including: 1) a civil rights statute with penalties against

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰*Ibid.*

discrimination in public places, 2) appropriations for the New Mexico FEPC, 3) prohibitions against insurance sale by small loan companies, and 4) enabling legislation to permit cities to undertake slum clearance under federal statutes. In March of 1955, the New Mexico Senate followed the House by passing the anti-discrimination bill, deleting the penalty clause but subjecting any alleged violation to court action and contempt action if individuals convicted of an act of discrimination refused to cease and desist. One of the groups opposed to the new bill was the Motor Hotel Association of New Mexico. It appears that this group did not want Latin Americans in their bedrooms, but thanks to men and women of the Forum employing coordinating and continuing pressure, plus the aid of other organizations, that desire no longer operated within the law.²¹

In New Mexico, the Albuquerque G.I. Forum managed to make inroads in labor rights. In the fall of 1953, the garbage workers of that city, 99 percent of whom were of Spanish-speaking descent, were the only city employees not under a merit system. The local Forum appeared before the city commission to request coverage for these people (many of whom were in the G.I. Forum) in order to remove political pressure from hiring procedures, prevent firing of laborers without just cause, provide grievance process, stabilize the working force, and permit the acquisition of seniority. In addition to the absence of these conditions, garbage workers had no sick leave, no paid holidays and vacations, nor other benefits that the merit system could provide. The Forum had already dealt with the garbage superintendent when he fired two Mexican workers without cause. The response of the superintendent, besides failing to show justification for that dismissal, was to place the garbage worker who led the appeal (as a Forum member) on night duty in order to prevent his full participation in Forum activities. Unintimidated, the Forum gathered signatures on petitions and organized people to attend the city commission and forcefully advocate for a merit system. In November of 1953, faced with an organized group prepared to sustain their efforts, Albuquerque officials granted the request of the Forumeers to incorporate the garbage workers into the city merit system with all benefits.²²

In following up this accomplishment, the Forum prevented repercussions from possible revenge-minded city officials. When the garbage superintendent attempted to demote one of the leaders of the campaign, the Forumeers protested and forced recession of the order. Even more critical for the long-range goal of fair employment practices for Mexican Americans, the G.I. Forum stopped the dismissal of a Mexican truck driver by the superintendent. Vicente Ximenes represented the worker, proved the justifications presented by the superintendent were fraudulent, and won reinstatement for the worker. Ximenes sustained this type of watchful waiting through the winter of 1953-54, and the city departments finally ceased their harassment of Forum members and workers. This affair prefaced the establishment of union organization for Mexican Americans in Albuquerque and provided valuable lessons for the G.I. Forum. As one of the Albuquerque members put it, "we showed that *la raza se junta y se puede organizar*."²³

²¹See "File on Public Discrimination Law in New Mexico," 1953-1955, Archives of the G.I. Forum.

²²See "File on Albuquerque Merit System Dispute, New Mexico, 1953-1954," Archives of the G.I. Forum.

²³"Organization Pays Off," *G.I. Forum News Bulletin* (February 1954).

The G.I. Forum did display the ability to organize people, programs, and issues. These problems were, at least indirectly, of an urban nature because Mexican Americans had become an urban people, and the backbone of the organization was its membership.²⁴ Some would be categorized as middle class by economic guidelines, but the overwhelming majority were of the grass roots and lower economic class. The garbage workers of Albuquerque, the parents in Driscoll, the veterans of Corpus Christi, and the citizens of McAllen, Brownsville, and Harlingen had certain concerns and goals. They did not worry about assimilation, accommodation, or middle-class values. They concentrated their energies into achieving quality education, labor rights, and political influence, hardly the perspective of a nonachieving minority. These men and women did not rely on their "leaders," rather they themselves exerted the labor and action necessary to make themselves heard.²⁵

Along with providing the structure and dedication necessary in the achievement of such goals, the American G.I. Forum in Texas and New Mexico cities also remained Mexican American in their philosophy. They did not hide nor run away from their identity. As a special interest group fighting such obstacles as prejudice and discrimination without benefit of any societal supports, such strategy would have brought failure. The Forum's strength rested in its unity and its determination to confront the many problems of *la gente* in the open and not from an "underground" or low-key perspective.²⁶

A more complete study of the G.I. Forum will describe its activities on a national level as well as regional and state. Working for legislation to protect farm workers was a top priority. Elimination of the contract labor agreements with Mexico claimed much time. Development of a heightened political consciousness among Mexican Americans predated the Chicano movement of the sixties.²⁷ The evidence of these endeavors must cause a reassessment of Chicano history. But one fact is clear. When the "new movement" began to make its contributions to Latino society, the thousands of post-war Forum members were gratified. They had carried the struggle a long time.

²⁴Leo Giebler, Joann Moore, and Ralph Guzman, *The Mexican American People* (New York: Free Press, 1970), pp. 112-14.

²⁵See Carl Allsup, "The American G.I. Forum."

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷*Ibid.*

RACISM AND INDIAN POLICIES IN NORTH CAROLINA

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Most non-Indians think of the Indians as tragic, romantic figures who always ran around wearing war paint and feathers. This is the picture presented by an imperialistic people whether they are acquiring land for personal gain or for their government. The majority of the people in this country believe the Indians have largely disappeared which, reveals a lack of knowledge about Native Americans, both in the past and in the present.

From the beginning of permanent Indian-white relationships, there were fundamental cultural differences between the Native Americans and the newcomers. The Europeans brought their heritage of western civilization and the social, economic, and political institutions of Europe, while the Native Americans had totally different traditions and customs. This cultural difference resulted in misconceptions, stereotypes, and rationalizations from both sides. The cultural confrontation, unfortunately or not, produced serious interracial wars, which, with a combination of other factors, have influenced the development and growth of the present social structures found among Indians.

Of all the issues involved, apparently the most important one was land. The Indians held their land in common and needed it to sustain their way of life. The 18th Century Englishman believed in private ownership and needed the land to produce goods for trade with England. Failure to resolve their basic differences of land ownership and use resulted in ill feelings and wars between them.

The wars turned out to be, for the large part, divided down racial lines, with whites on one side and the Indians on the other. Members of each group could identify each other at a glance. North Carolina in 1760 passed the following law: "... And if any person or persons inhabitants of this province not in actual pay, shall kill an enemy Indian or Indians, he or they shall have and receive ten pounds for each and every Indian he or they shall kill and any person or persons who shall be in the actual pay of this province, shall have and receive five pounds for every Indian or Indians he or they shall so kill, to be paid out of the Treasury, and law, usage, or custom to the contrary not understanding." This leads one to believe that polarization around race in this country began with the dissimilarity in economic needs between the two races. Hence, America has developed into a racist society.

The definition of racism used is "... a belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular race." More specifically, people who are white are inherently superior because they are white.

The production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services for Native Americans have been controlled. This control may be due in part to our own isolation, or a refusal to change Indian customs to fit white mores. Indians represent a unique minority in America. They are aborigines and exert little or

no influence upon how this country is governed. Whether living on a reservation or more integrated into non-reservation life, Indians have experienced painful relationships with federal and state governmental agencies. Indian laws and governments have been destroyed by a stronger, more centralized regulation without allowing an opportunity to make their own substitutions. Indians are a land-based people with close ties to nature and the seasons, and they tend to depend on them for vitality. Native Americans experience a close comradeship toward their own people, and they tend to be indifferent toward people who do not share their views. While their isolation to a great extent has been enforced, it is sometimes self-determined because of a lack of an associate outside the Indian community.

Two major Indian nations existed in North Carolina prior to colonization. They were the Tuscaroras of the East and the Cherokees of the Western section of the state. According to their tradition, the Tuscaroras possessed in early times the country between the sea shores and the mountains which divide the Atlantic states. Lawson reported in 1701 that the Tuscarora population was around 5,000. Mooney and Swanton estimated that the Cherokee population in the 17th Century was around 22,000, and they controlled 40,000 square miles of land. Both of the nations, with the movement of the wild animals they hunted, swiftly lost their lands to white settlers.

In the early 1700's, as more and more settlers came to North Carolina, they required land for subsistence; this land was gained at the expense of the Indians. As whites occupied more and more land, the Indian way of life could not be sustained on an eroding land base. This brought direct conflict between the Tuscarora nation and the settlers and ended with the Tuscarora wars.

In 1710, an unscrupulous official of the colonies, Carey, deceived the Indians in trade, would not let them hunt near the plantations, and under this excuse took away their arms, ammunition, pelts or hides, and even beat an Indian to death. The Tuscaroras, because of this, waged war against the colonies. The war lasted for about five years. The Indians realized they were fighting an endless battle between two conflicting ideas; one depended on the environment and seasons for survival and existence, and the other ideology stated that man controls all. The Nation decided that the most sensible behavior was to quit fighting a losing war, even though they were destroying their foe. They moved to New York to live with the Iroquois, who were members of the same linguistic group. After the departure of the Tuscaroras, there remained renegade Indian groups scattered throughout Eastern North Carolina. These groups were conforming to the English idea of private ownership of land and offered no real threat to the English who moved in to claim ownership of North Carolina.

After the Tuscaroras migrated to New York, the coastal plains and piedmont sections of the state lay virtually uninhabited, and land hungry settlers quickly moved in. The settlers moving westward across North Carolina were a lawless group of people defying any symbolism of authority. This is evidenced by the Alamance Revolt of 1772 and the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence in 1775. Eventually, this lawless group of mixed people from Western Europe, under the guise of freedom and suppression, revolted against England and won their independence.

In 1790, the government of the brand new United States of America began to enter into treaties with the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, and Choctaw nations. The Indians always ended up with less land after the treaty than they enjoyed before entering into negotiations. A treaty with the Cherokees concluded on the banks

of Holston River near the mouth of the French Broad on July 2, 1791, and proclaimed on February 7, 1792, contained, among numerous provisions, the following:

- 1) Perpetual peace declared between the United States and the Cherokee Nation.
- 2) Cherokees to be under the sole protection of the United States and to hold no treaty with any state or individuals.
- 3) Cherokees and the United States to release mutually prisoners captured from one another.
- 4) Boundary between the United States and the Cherokees defined . . .
- 7) The United States solemnly guarantee to the Cherokees all their land not herein ceded.
- 8) Citizens of the United States or others not Indians settling on Cherokee land to forfeit protection of the United States and to be punished as the Indians see fit.
- 9) Inhabitants of the United States forbidden to hunt on Cherokee lands, etc.

The Cherokees expected one kind of behavior from the new nation and received another. It is not clear whether this nation ever expected to live by the treaties they entered into with the Indians. The nation's behavior was more reflected by a newly appointed Indian agent who in 1791 traveled through the territory of the Creeks (highland Georgia and environs) and reported to the Secretary of War that this land "must in process of time, become a most delectable part of the United States."

For a short time, the new nation needed the Southeast Indians and their vast land holdings as a buffer zone between them and the Spanish in Florida and the French in the lower Mississippi area. This need was short lived, because in 1803 Jefferson suggested a desire to remove the southern tribes to territory beyond the Mississippi River. An act of Congress in 1804 approved this suggestion and appropriated \$15,000.00 to enable the President to effect the removal project. In the early 1800's, small groups of Indians began to migrate west ceding their land to the government. Andrew Jackson in 1816 voiced that the Cherokees would soon tender all of their land east of the Mississippi to the United States government in exchange for land on the Arkansas River.

The states began to outlaw tribal governments and annex Indian land in 1817, placing the Indian nations under the jurisdiction of state law. This was in violation of the securities granted the Indian nations by treaties with the United States. The spirit of the frontier--clear the Indians out--was American policy in 1828 when Andrew Jackson took office. An appeal to the federal government for protection was made by the Indians. President Jackson and General John H. Eaton, his Secretary of War, told them the federal government was simply unable to comply with its treaty pledges. Thus the Indian nations were stripped of their territory and the individual of his property right and in open violation of the guarantee of treaties. The Indians were without the protection of their own laws or of any other laws. They were outlawed, imprisoned, persecuted, and even put to death, though they had committed no offense whatever, only seeking to enjoy what belonged to them, and refusing to give it up to those who had no pretense of title to it.

The Cherokees resisted longer and with incredible tenacity in the face of concerted oppression that mounted year by year. Led by their extraordinary

leader, John Ross, they pushed a legal fight until they won their case in the United States Supreme Court. Chief Justice John Marshall delivered the opinion. He denounced the states for their wrongs against the Indians and found the acts unconstitutional and in violation with treaty rights. However, Jackson refused to execute the decision of the courts. He was reported to have said, "John Marshall made the decision, now let him enforce it." Whether he made the statement or not, those were his sentiments. Finally, with an excuse of a false treaty, the United States Army, in 1838 and 1839, removed the Cherokee people by force.

And so the last of the Indian nations of the southeast were gone from their warm and charming land. But something more had happened than the removal of 50,000 or so people from their homes. The policies of the new nation towards Indians had been demonstrated. This was only the beginning of what Indians were to suffer from the hands of thieves and robbers who came to them as a wolf in sheep's clothing. The Indians did not and should not trust any of them. They all displayed a common Indian policy--destroy any resemblance of Indianism. This was true for the commander-in-chief and the foot soldier, for the land baron and the pauper, for the religious leader and the cutthroat; all white men are alike to the Indians, and none should be trusted.

The Indians of North Carolina had trusted the mixed people from Europe and believed that "a man's word was his bond." Little did they realize that the land hungry savages who came to their shores had no respect for their life style. The attitude of the new nation was total annihilation. Beginning with the Tuscaroras and completing the task with the Cherokees, all Indian land in North Carolina had been taken by the state. However, small pockets of Indians remained throughout the area on land they had purchased and were attempting to live by the laws and standards set for them by whites. By this point in time, Indians had learned not to trust the white man's words or behavior. The Indians remembered the many broken treaties, the lack of respect, and the similarities of behavior from all white men regardless of their position in their government. In short, the Indians were ready to make a go at it alone.

Having been a self-sufficient and non-reservation people, the Native Americans of eastern North Carolina were accepted as free men. Prior to 1835, they voted, attended such white schools as then existed, and enjoyed all other rights of citizenship. In 1835, genocide struck again, and the North Carolina constitutional revision stripped them of these privileges, launching them into a half century period that has been called the dark ages for Native Americans in North Carolina. At this point in time, Indians turned inward. They were left without any formal education, which was their chief source of upward mobility. It was during these dark days that the Civil War erupted. Indians were conscripted into slave camps. They were forced to become a part of the Slave Force Building Confederate Fortification. Consequently, they suffered all the indignity and hardships of slavery. The Indians deserted the slave camps. Great numbers lost their lives while trying to escape the Confederate Homeguard. Many Indians began to prepare for the worst. Most of these men who had escaped the camp were either in the swamps or on the coast. Their families were being harrassed. Food was not as abundant as in the past. Indians were not allowed to have weapons because of the law passed by the General Assembly of 1840 prohibiting free non-whites from carrying weapons. The renegade Indians began to seek out supplies and weapons preparing to defend themselves. Raids were regularly staged against farms and plantations to acquire the needed items. White citizenry was angered over this outburst of lawlessness. It was out of these troubled times that Henry Berry Lowry, a Lumbee Indian, emerged after

witnessing the brutal slaying of his father and brother at the hands of the Confederate Homeguard. This episode in North Carolina history, 1864 to 1874, has been labeled as the Lowry Uprising. This uprising brought about the death of many people and innumerable robberies, including a raid on the sheriff's office. This set county, state, and federal officials on the trail to apprehend Lowry dead or alive. Eventually, Lowry escaped punishment, and a reward of \$40,000 for his apprehension remains uncollected to this day.

The last open organized effort to control Indian growth and "put them in their place" was made in 1958 by the KKK. A Klan's rally was planned against the Lumbees in January, 1958. The Indians met the Klan on their own battlefield in Maxton, North Carolina, broke up the rally, and virtually eliminated the Klan from North Carolina.

Since 1776 the policies of the United States have attempted to dissipate the Indians as a group. This is displayed by the Indian Removal Acts of the early 1880's and the Indian Termination Policy of the 1950's. The net results are always the same -- scatter the Indians. Native Americans have experienced racist attitudes when they attempt to develop an economic, social, or educational base.

The period from the 1830's to the 1880's grossly affected the development and progress of education for North Carolina's Indian population. From 1835 to 1885, the coastal Indians had no access to education. The only educational facility available to the Cherokees was a mission school operated by the Society of Friends.

The Convention of 1868 removed the ban of disfranchisement on the Indians declaring it unconstitutional, and all constitutional rights were restored. The disfranchisement of the Cherokees was amended in 1889, making them wards of the federal government who assumed the responsibility for their education.

In 1887, the General Assembly enacted legislation to establish a normal school in Robeson County called Croatan Normal School. (Lumbee Indians were originally called Croatan Indians.) This legislation provided five hundred dollars for the education if the local people would provide a building.

With the legislation providing for the establishment of an Indian normal school in 1887, the State of North Carolina instituted the foundations of education for Native Americans in North Carolina. This factor has contributed mostly to the educational development of Indians, within and outside the state.

The Indian normal school trained teachers who were employed in the communities of the Waccamaw Siouan, the Coharie, and the Haliwa as well as those of the Lumbee. For those who completed their education, Pembroke State University served as a stepping stone to further educational opportunities in other schools, colleges and universities.

The original Indian normal school was the first and only state-supported institution of higher learning established for Indians in the United States and remains the only true all-Indian college.

In 1954, the first non-Indian students were officially admitted. Although Pembroke State University is no longer an all-Indian institution, the

Lumbees and other Indians across the state still look to the University as "their" school. This was seen in the "Save Old Main" movement.

Old Main was the first permanent non-frame structure to be erected on Pembroke State's campus. It became a monument depicting the struggle of Indians to achieve an education. The building was slated to be demolished in 1971. Realizing that racism was showing its distasteful head once again, the Indians began seeking relief. They utilized the most effective method known to gain the attention of the white man, that is, street demonstrations and community rallies. The community rallies resulted in the preservation of "Old Main" to become an Indian museum and the center of an Indian Studies program at Pembroke State. However, an arson's fire gutted the building on March 18, 1973. After the fire and deep concerns from Indian communities across the United States, the Governor of North Carolina established an Old Main Commission. The Commission did a use-feasibility study for the structure and tentatively drew architectural plans for its renovation. A bond issue for higher education, passed in 1976, will provide funds to renovate the existing structure, and it will become an Indian museum at last.

Native Americans were unable to muster among themselves the quality of education offered to whites. With the advent of the Civil Rights legislation in the 1960's, Native Americans have enjoyed more growth opportunities than in any other period in their history. They have achieved higher levels of education and professional training by attending integrated schools. They have accepted higher types of employment in an open society which has improved their standard of living.

In 1972, all groups of Native Americans in North Carolina were asked to attend a planning meeting, called by the Governor, to establish a North Carolina Commission on Indian Affairs. This unique move by the people of North Carolina demonstrated a realization that North Carolina is the highest Indian populated state east of the Mississippi River. The primary purpose of the Indian Commission is to enhance Indian development, and not Indian control for which the Bureau of Indian Affairs was established.

Five distinct tribes, groups, or bands of Native American people live in North Carolina today, and they are:

1. Cherokee. According to the 1970 Census, there are 3,318 Native Americans living on or around the Qualla Boundary Reservation. The reservation is located in Jackson and Swain Counties. Qualla Boundary is the only Indian reservation in North Carolina and is the home of the Eastern Cherokees. The federal government is responsible for administering assistance, maintenance, and service to the tribe. These trust responsibilities are guaranteed by treaties between the tribe and the United States government.
2. Coharie. According to the 1970 Census, there are 770 Native Americans residing in Sampson County who live in a group of rural communities near Clinton, North Carolina. A very clannish tribe, they have never had a treaty with the United States government. They are formally organized and incorporated as the Coharie Tribe. Living in Harnett County, adjacent to Sampson, are 382 Native Americans according to the 1970 Census. The majority are Coharie people sharing the same surnames and characteristics.

3. Haliwa. According to the 1970 Census, there are 1,131 Native Americans living in Halifax and Warren Counties near the Town of Essex. They have an amalgamated history of migration practices. They have never had a treaty but are formally organized and incorporated as the Haliwa Tribe.
4. Lumbee. There are approximately 30,000 Native Americans living in Roseson and the surrounding counties in that area. They constitute the largest group numerically and reside in the widest area geographically. Being of a rural heritage, many Lumbees are still farmers and landowners in Southeastern North Carolina.
5. Waccamaw-Siouan. According to the 1970 Census, there are 949 Native Americans residing in Columbus County. They live in rural communities near Bolton, North Carolina. A historical tribe, but never having had a war or treaty, organized and incorporated by the statutes of North Carolina as the Waccamaw-Siouan Tribe.

In conclusion, it may be argued that racism began in the United States between the Indians and the settlers. It originated by one race owning the land and another race desiring it, thus bringing about serious racial wars and discrimination between the races. The more advanced technology of Western Europe allowed whites to win the struggle and occupy the land for use as determined by them. The governments of Western Europe were more centralized, and whites were able to muster more fighting men to acquire and hold the land. When the immigrants arrived, they brought their technology and government with them, and they had little or no respect for the Native Americans, their life style, or their government. This type of behavior and attitudes helped establish Indian policies for the new nation, and the United States has maintained the same policy, which is clear the Indians out, since 1776.

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URBANISM, VOLUNTARISM, AND AFRO-AMERICAN ACTIVISM

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Introduction

Increase in the urbanization of blacks and the expansion of black participation and membership in urban and national based voluntary associations, two as yet insufficiently understood and inadequately analyzed factors, are being used here in an attempt to explain the rise of black activism in the 1960's and 1970's and the new directions that this has taken in strengthening Afro-American solidarity. These two factors must be separately described and analyzed before being used as evidence to support the main arguments being presented. Black activism, which is assumed to be partly responsible for black achievements of the last decade and a half, is the result of forces operating within the contexts of, and strategies established by, blacks through the above two factors. For black achievements to be retained and improved upon, these two forces must be continued at least at their present levels.

This paper follows Hauser (1965:9) in maintaining that the delineation of areas as "rural" or "urban" and the use of the term "urbanization" is often related to administrative, political, historical, or cultural considerations as well as demographic criteria. While urbanization refers to the process through which human settlements assume these characteristics, "urbanism" simply is a term used to describe the way of life of urban dwellers. Also, voluntary association is treated here as a special type of common interest group, membership in which is entirely voluntary (see Kerri, 1976, for detailed discussion of this concept).

Black Urbanization and Urbanism

A United States Bureau of the Census (1973:9) report states that:

The black population living in central cities of metropolitan areas continued to grow in the early 1970's. In 1973, six out of ten black persons were residents of a central city. The number of whites in central cities in 1973 has shown a decline from the 1970 level, thus the exodus of whites from the central cities observed in the 1960 decade appeared to be continuing in the 1970's.

In absolute figures, the 1973 black metropolitan resident population is about five million more than it was in 1960. In percentage form, 68 percent of United States blacks in 1960 resided in metropolitan areas. This increased to 76 percent by 1973.

The Bureau of the Census (1973:28) further reports that:

There were 7.4 million blacks and 15.1 million whites below the low-income level in 1973 constituting 31 and 8 percent of the respective populations. . . .

There were 1.5 million black families below the low-income level in 1973, comprising about 28 percent of all black families. Among whites, there were 3.2 million low-income families--about 7 percent of all white families. Between 1969 and 1973, the number of low-income black families increased; whereas, in 1973, the proportion (28 percent) of all black families was about the same as in 1969.

The U.S. Bureau of the Census (1973:39) also reports that, consistent with the economic recovery which continued throughout most of 1973, jobless rates from 1972 to 1973 declined to 8.9 percent for nonwhite workers (including blacks who usually made up 90 percent of the nonwhite population) and 4.3 percent for white workers.

In terms of educational attainments, substantial differences still exist between blacks and whites. In each of the two categories of those twenty to twenty-four years of age who completed four years of high school or more and those who completed one year of college or more, we find that blacks, even at the peak of their success in 1973, have lower percentages than whites in all categories. For example, in 1973, 70 percent of black males and 72 percent of black females, ages twenty to twenty-four, completed four years of high school or more, whereas their white counterparts had 85 percent for the males and also 85 percent for the females. Only 8.3 percent blacks, ages twenty-five to thirty-four, completed four years of college or more compared to 19.0 percent for whites of the same age group (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1973).

In terms of living conditions, according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1973:106), in 1970, 23 percent of the 6.2 million black-occupied housing units were classified as "substandard,"¹ a proportion that was slightly more than three times the proportion of the white-occupied units of 7 percent.

Therefore, the black American population is mainly an urban population and is becoming increasingly so, both in terms of absolute numbers and in terms of the proportion of the total black population. But while the black population remains urban and has attained higher income levels, the overall income differential between black and white families has widened and continues to do so, a matter which, when viewed also in the light of increasing cost of living and inflation, has become indeed distressing and alarming to many. Blacks also continue to have a very high percentage of their population below the low-income level, with the proportion of black families below the low-income level sometimes being as much as four times those of the white families in similar conditions. In addition, while many more blacks, regardless of their income, reside in low-income areas, the overall black unemployment rate has remained at twice the level of that of the

¹The 1970 data on "substandard" housing are estimates which are the sum of two categories: (1) units included in the 1970 census which lacked complete private plumbing facilities, and (2) an estimate (through the use of statistical techniques) of the number of dilapidated units with complete private plumbing facilities. In 1960, housing was reported as "dilapidated" if defects were so critical or widespread that the structure would require extensive repairs, rebuilding, razing, or was of inadequate original construction. (Taken from U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1973, p. 108.)

white population. In some cities the rate among black teenagers is almost four times that of the national average. Detroit recently reported a 40 percent unemployment rate in some of the city's black neighborhoods. Blacks still lag far behind whites in the proportion holding high paying, high status jobs and continue to be overrepresented in lower paying, less skilled jobs and underrepresented in better paying, higher skilled occupations. In educational attainments, substantial differences still exist between blacks and whites with blacks lagging behind their white counterparts and age groups. Black families are harassed with high divorce and separation rates and increasing rates of illegitimacy (i.e., children born outside of wedlock), while at the same time they are more likely than whites to occupy substandard housing, have lower life expectancies, and exercise much less political control.

Thus in summarizing various aspects of the economic and social characteristics of black persons in low-income areas² of selected cities in 1970, the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1973:130) reports that:

About five million black people resided in low-income areas of the twenty-six cities with 100,000 or more blacks in 1970. Generally, the majority of black persons in a given city also lived in the low-income area. In only three cities--Detroit, Washington, D.C., and Indianapolis--was there a larger number of blacks living outside the low-income areas. . . .

The black population in the low-income areas in contrast to that in the remainder of the cities was generally characterized by a high dependency ratio, a low proportion of children living with both parents, low educational attainment, a high proportion of female heads, high poverty rates, fewer earners in the family, and crowded housing among renters. . . .

The proportion of children living with both parents was 50 percent or less in more than one-half of the low income areas; outside the specified areas, the proportion did not fall at or below the 50 percent mark. In most of the selected cities, less than one-third of all persons (twenty-five years old and over) living in low-income areas had completed high school. The proportion was particularly small for the low-income areas of Richmond and Baltimore--20 percent or less. The highest proportion of high school graduates for low-income areas was found in Boston (43 percent), and for outside low-income areas, Los Angeles (65 percent). . . .

The poverty rate for low-income area families was very high, ranging from 25 to 43 percent. In five cities, at least four out of every ten low-income area families were headed by women. . . .

Unemployment rates in twenty-three cities were higher in low-income areas than outside these areas. The majority of the employed persons in these poverty areas were concentrated in blue collar and service occupations.

On the basis of these and the other socioeconomic and demographic characteristics discussed above, it can be concluded that the city plays a significant role in the lives of Afro-Americans. It is for this reason that urbanization is selected as a context within which to examine the extent of black

²Low-income areas, as defined for the 1970 census, consist of all census tracts in which 20 percent or more of all persons were below the poverty level in 1969 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1973:130).

voluntarism and its latent and manifest implication for black unity, solidarity, and awareness in the United States. But before examining these interconnections, the nature and dynamics of voluntary associations, in general, and the state of black voluntarism, in particular, will be briefly summarized.

Anthropological Studies of Voluntarism

Elsewhere (Kerri, 1974a and 1976) the author has presented an analysis and summary of some of the anthropological literature on voluntary associations, particularly those specifically related to voluntary actions and the role of common interest associations as adaptive mechanisms in situations of social, cultural, ecological, and technological change, and especially in change involving rapid urban growth and large-scale migrations of rural populations to towns and cities. Anthropologists have substantially documented the close association between urbanization and membership and participation in voluntary associations.

For example, in Africa, where a considerable amount of work on this topic has been done (Little, 1965, 1967, 1972, and 1973; Banton, 1956 and 1957; Ottenberg, 1955 and 1968; Hamer, 1967), the focus of the coverage has been on how rural to urban native migrants have formed and effectively utilized voluntary associations in dealing with problems resulting from and associated with adaptations to their new urban settings and the demands and expectations of their new environments. These studies also show the differential use of voluntary associations among different ethnic groups and the extent to which the convergence of voluntary groups in the urban areas correlated with particular traditional forms of social organizations. Studies that are not oriented to non-Western cultures and that focus on Western societies (Europe and North America) also deal with the adaptive role of voluntary associations (Anderson and Anderson, 1959, 1962a, 1962b, and 1965; Drucker, 1958; Kerri, 1972).

Even in the more general and theoretical discussions of voluntary associations (Anderson, 1971; Anderson and Anderson, 1962a; Banton, 1968; Geertz, 1962; Anderson, 1964), we find further support of the connection between voluntary group membership and participation and urbanization, although in some instances reference to this point is compounded by attempts to resolve definitional problems.

Black Voluntarism

Achievements of blacks in the voluntary sector have become increasingly recognized as a force behind their achievements in other areas of American society. In spite of this, very few studies attempt to deal with black voluntarism on a national scale. What we have is a series of studies that concentrate on individual voluntary organizations or on specific towns, cities, or regions. In order to understand the national causes, dynamics, nature, impact, and functions of black voluntary associations, one will have to generalize from the isolated incidences for which we have information.

Some associations in predominantly black communities are organized as an effort to resolve specific problems of concern to the members of the local community. Some of these voluntary associations are part of a chain of associations organized on the wider regional or national level, while some are mainly local. Jones (1972:51-63) gives an account of an effort to organize community action oriented associations in a poor section of an urban ghetto. Although the poor people of the area did not as a general rule belong to voluntary associations, their participation in organizations based on kinship was very common. Jones

explains their lack of interest in voluntary organizations in terms of the fact that the functions of such associations have been taken over by higher level city and state formal governmental institutions. Consequently, the two most active voluntary associations that were operating in this community were the Welfare Rights Association and the Black Panther Party, both of whom received extensive outside support that made their effective operation possible. This case exemplifies the failures of locally originated voluntary associations and the success of externally supported and originated organizations with local interests.

But local associations, local in origin and orientation, have been found to coexist with externally originated and supported ones, as Seals and Kolaja (1964: 27-32) found in their study of black voluntary organizations in Lexington, Kentucky. They identified 211 black voluntary associations, most of which were in either church or church-related activities or were social or recreational in nature, in spite of the fact that the study was done at a time when many blacks were active in civil rights organizations. These associations, in terms of their activities and the extent of active participation of their members, were more expressive than instrumental in orientation. They sought not so much to change things in the community as to satisfy the interests of their members. What is important in this study, however, is that the authors found that among the instrumental associations, external affiliations with state or national organizations were more frequent (over one-half) than among the expressive types (one tenth). The socioeconomic characteristics of Lexington's black population of more than 20,000 people are similar to those described in the preceding section of this paper, thus accounting for the proliferation of black voluntary associations which would not have been possible without the urban congregation of large numbers of blacks that made it feasible for the common interests to be shared and articulated.

Relevant to this issue is the extent to which urbanization has made it possible for blacks to be aware of not only their urban but also their nonurban originated and oriented problems, to be close to one another to effectively organize to counteract the forces that give rise to those problems, and, above all, to be conscious and aware of the causes, dynamics, and consequences of these problems. The resulting proliferation of black voluntary associations has been explained by Myrdal (1944), Babchuk and Thompson (1962), and Orum (1966) by what Olsen (1970:684) terms the "compensation" thesis, which argues that "blacks attempt to compensate for the racial discrimination they encounter in many realms of social life by forming relationships and organizations among themselves, in which they can at least partially escape white racism." This line of reasoning implies that since significant numbers of blacks are deprived of the resources and opportunities for attaining the usual social and psychological satisfactions of everyday life, they are compelled to seek such satisfactions collectively through other means. Olsen maintains that the compensation argument is inadequate to explain black activism in several areas, including the voluntary sector. He offers a complementary explanation which he terms the "ethnic community" thesis. He suggests that blacks, as well as other ethnic minorities, "may become active in social and political affairs because of social pressures exerted upon them within their ethnic community to conform to the norms of that community--if the norms of this community stress social and political activism, these people will tend to exert pressures (both informal and formal) upon one another to conform to these norms by taking part in a variety of activities aimed at improving their common conditions."

To provide a partial test of the ethnic community thesis, Olsen compared participation rates among ethnic identifiers and nonidentifiers. He proposed that

"if ethnic identifiers tend to be more active than nonidentifiers, this would suggest that these people perceive the existence of an ethnic community which presumably serves as a reference group for them and thus influences their actions" (1970:684). His expectation was partially substantiated by the findings, based on Indianapolis data, that blacks who identify as members of an ethnic minority tend to be more active than nonidentifiers. Olsen hence draws a cautionary conclusion (p. 696):

Perhaps the fairest assessment we can make at this time concerning the relative merits of the compensation and ethnic community theses is that both are at least partially valid in respect to blacks in the contemporary United States. It is undoubtedly true that many black people have been for a long time seeking to escape racial discrimination by forming and participating in their own voluntary associations. But it also seems almost self-evident that the recent emphasis on "black pride" and "black power" must certainly have stimulated many black persons to extend and intensify their participation in numerous realms of social and political life. In short, the compensation and ethnic community theses undoubtedly offer complementary, not contradictory, explanations of the tendency for blacks to participate more actively than whites of comparable socioeconomic and age levels in many social and political activities. Both processes could well be operating together on many blacks in this society, and both would tend to heighten their participation rates.

The point to be made here is that without the conditions created by urbanization, neither the "compensation" efforts nor the "ethnic community" identification trajectory will have made any significant inroad towards increasing black activism and participation in voluntary associations. In fact, it is urbanization which, more than any other process, explains to us what Olsen (1970:696) labels "the social forces that push blacks toward active participation, their individual reasons for becoming involved in all kinds of social and political activities, and the resulting outcomes of these actions." It is the constraining factors in urban housing, employment, health, education, politics, and recreation and their effects on the black family in the midst of increasing urban black population that act as catalysts in pushing blacks to seek to resolve their socioeconomic and other problems. But what has maintained these efforts is that they have shown some results, not only in terms of civil rights legislation and executive orders, but also in terms of the improved conditions which, though very small, still serve the purpose of holding out promise of better things to come if only the efforts are continued and intensified. A better understanding of black voluntarism, ethnic identity, solidarity, and activism can best be reached with the "compensation" and "ethnic community identification" theses only when they are couched in the context of black experiences in the urban scene and the causes, nature, and consequences of these experiences. Without understanding and appreciating the magnitude and types of problems that blacks experience in the United States, an understanding of the reasons for their activism, not only in the voluntary sector but also in other areas, will be impaired. There is no better place to have a feel of these problems than in United States urban and metropolitan areas.

Further insights into black voluntary associations are provided by Drake and Cayton (1945) and Babchuk and Thompson (1962). Drake and Cayton (1945:662), in their study of the life and history of blacks in Chicago, found that for middle-class blacks in Chicago membership and participation in voluntary associations:

Constitute the "markers" by which individuals symbolize their aspirations and the positions they have attained in the competitive struggle

to get ahead. They provide occasions upon which a middle-class person can display his other symbols, such as clothing and correct public behavior, among people who, like himself, prize these. Middle-class organizations put the accent on "front" respectability, civic responsibility of a sort, and conventionalized recreation. Some of these organizations, too, become the means by which middle-class people "on the rise" come into contact with people "above" them socially and by which mobile lower-class individuals can rise from the class below.

Kerri (1972, 1974a, 1976) and Gordon and Babchuk (1959) maintain that voluntary associations have a "status conferring function" by which they can bestow prestige on their members by the recognition that the members receive for their participation in association and association-related activities. Thus, in the case of black middle-class Chicagoans, what is seen is not only the use of voluntary association for achieving recognition, but also for a display of their achievements. But such status conferring functions are not the exclusive privilege of middle-class black associations in Chicago. They have also been observed in several other cities and, in some cases, they are just as much a feature of lower-class associations as they are those of middle and upper income groups.

In Babchuk and Thompson's (1962:647-655) study of the voluntary association participation of adult blacks in Lincoln, Nebraska, further confirmation of the status conferring function can be observed. Babchuk and Thompson rightly excluded unions and churches from their consideration of voluntary associations. Their findings strongly supported Myrdal's (1944) thesis that blacks "belong to far greater number of formal voluntary associations than whites." They found that this was true for blacks at all social class levels when compared to their white counterparts, but it was especially true of lower-class blacks. With the exception of the Wright and Hyman (1958) survey, which concluded that whites are more likely to belong to voluntary associations than blacks, most other studies (Olsen, 1970; Rose, 1964; Orum, 1966; Williams, 1973) comparing black and white voluntary association membership and participation support Babchuk and Thompson's findings that blacks have greater participation and membership than their white counterparts.

A further implication of the Babchuk and Thompson study is their agreement with Myrdal's (1944) contention that the widespread participation of blacks in voluntary associations as being mainly pathological is still applicable. Their reason is that blacks still are far more likely to belong to expressive associations which accomplish little and are therefore considered pathological. The authors hold that (p. 653):

Expressive groups are, of course, non-utilitarian in nature. They exist to provide immediate gratification for the individual; as organizations they have little bearing on the normative order and are not likely to have much of an impact on non-members. Nor did the members join associations to achieve personal success.

Babchuk and Thompson also assign a number of functions to black voluntary associations: (1) they compensate for what the authors (p. 653) see as the loose family ties of lower-class blacks among whom, they claim, the extended kin group does not constitute much of a resource for fulfilling interpersonal satisfactions (a view also supported by Drake and Cayton, 1945, and Gardner and Gardner, 1941); (2) the voluntary associations also function for the black adult participant to provide release from a restrictive social environment in the same way that

participation in church activities does (p. 654); and (3) "the voluntary association functions in much the same way as the church to provide the Negro not only with an opportunity for self-expression and status recognition but also with an avenue to compete for prestige, to hold office, to exercise power and control, to win applause and acclaim."

Several other studies have compared black and white participation and membership in voluntary associations. Rudwick (1972:12-19) examines CORE's (Congress of Racial Equality) membership composition as a result of the civil rights activism of the 1960's and CORE's competition for black support with other black organizations openly critical of CORE's interracialism. Because of internal conflicts between black and white leaders in CORE, because of their interest in attracting more grass-roots blacks, and because of changing national sentiment about the desirability of integration, during the 1960's CORE changed from an organization dominated by middle-class blacks and whites committed to integration to an exclusively black nationalist organization. This point raises very serious questions about the viability of existing organizations such as the Urban League and the NAACP, that from their inception were interracial in composition and have continued to be so, even in the midst of continued polarization between blacks and whites in most inner cities due to the flight by whites to the suburbs and the increasing rejection of assimilative and integrative policies by blacks. What is interesting about the persistence of such groups amidst the polarization is not so much their composition, but their instrumental orientation, their power base, and the support, resources, and recognition they receive. These are the things that have kept them interracially intact, although in some of their chapters such interracial membership compositions are being gradually eroded. We should not, however, underestimate the strength of interracially composed voluntary groups in getting meaningful results, even with such emotionally charged issues as school busing and neighborhood integration. Sometimes their efforts are much more effective than those of single racial groups of either whites or blacks. The context of the city has made the formation of such voluntary groups increasingly possible and also increasingly necessary.

In comparing the relative effectiveness of black and white voluntary associations, Gulley's (1963:172-183) analysis reveals that: (1) although black associations tend to have more complex organizational structure, "they operate with less money and with relatively inadequate personnel"; (2) the staff of black voluntary organizations is more likely to be volunteer and not career oriented; these associations usually have more latent functions to perform, "have a more elaborate proliferation of organizational structure at the state and local levels, and more specialization at the national level than do the white organizations," and are therefore generally "over-extended" in terms of staffing and personnel (p. 177); (3) the black voluntary associations have more symbolic value, especially in terms of prestige, for their black membership (p. 178); and (4) "the internal problems of the black organizations are not isolated from the larger problems of segregation and discrimination" (p. 183).

This last point deserves some attention because it indicates the extent to which external factors that form the context within which black voluntary associations operate have significant bearing on what goes on within these associations. Since blacks and whites have different experiences in education, housing, employment, and political and economic advancement, what influences their decisions are bound to be different. Hence, we should not take lightly Orum's (1966:32-46) findings in his study of Detroit blacks and Chicago whites that show significant differences in their voluntary association characteristics. He found, as did

Babchuk and Thompson (1962), Olsen (1970), Rose (1964), and others, that lower-class blacks are more likely to belong to associations than lower-class whites but that middle-class blacks are slightly less likely to belong than middle-class whites. However, he found that the relationship between class and membership is much less pronounced for blacks who, without exception, are more likely to participate actively in their associations and who, in terms of overall voluntary association involvement, are not any more apathetic than their white counterparts. Orum (p. 45) concludes that Myrdal (1944:952-953) was right in his contention that black membership in their own segregated associations does not help them to succeed in the larger American society. Orum's and Myrdal's impressions do not seem to be validated by the black successes and achievements in civil rights in the last decade and a half that are mainly the results of organized efforts of predominantly black associations, such as those led by Martin Luther King and others. Orum also subscribes to Myrdal's "pathological" explanation, which claims that blacks are active in associations because they are not allowed to be active in much of other organized life, and hence, to "compensate" for such deprivation or restriction, they form and join their own voluntary associations.

When, however, Williams, Babchuk, and Johnson (1973:637-646) found in their Texas study that, in spite of the fact that blacks and Chicanos are equally likely to be discriminated against, but show differential voluntary association participation, the "pathological-compensation" thesis was called into question. According to this study, blacks still had the edge over Anglos who were found to be not significantly different from Mexican-Americans. Although the authors explained the black edge in terms of both the "compensation" and "ethnic community identification" theses (see also Olsen, 1970), they held that a possible key to the difference in association membership between blacks and Chicanos may be due to a difference in awareness of minority status (i.e., "a difference in the extent to which minority individuals perceive themselves and their group as objects of collective discrimination," p. 644). Furthermore, the authors suggest that the greater participation of blacks was to be explained primarily in terms of compensation, until recently when ethnic consciousness began to play a greater causative role.

It was also noted earlier that blacks tend to be more involved in expressive than in instrumental associations. Ross and Wheeler (1967:583-586), in their Tampa, Florida, study, hypothesized that "where Negroes fail to participate in instrumental voluntary associations it will be found that, among other things, the conditions of employment make joining too great a risk" (p. 583), and further, that "the more supportive the job situation, the more likely Negroes are to join militant instrumental associations." The authors, on the basis of their findings, concluded that (p. 586):

One of the better established facts in the research on voluntary associations is that participation is correlated with social class. We found this to be the case with Tampa Negroes. Such research, however, has not identified sources of variation within social classes insofar as those sources refer to unique factors in Negro life. Our data suggest that concrete factors in the relations of Negroes and whites operate at each class level to inhibit participation of Negroes. In particular, a crucial problem occurs when Negroes encounter whites on the job without the support of other Negroes or organizations which back them up in joining militant Negro groups. . . .

It is certainly the case that job support does not account for all the variability in militant association membership among blue-collar workers. Under the best of circumstances many of those with job support do not join. There may be, in fact, pressures to join as well as not to join. . . .

These findings help to elucidate further the tendency of blacks to belong to expressive associations more than to instrumental ones. One should not, however, overlook the fact that expressive associations, since they cater to individual needs and individual interests, are bound to be more attractive than instrumental associations which call not only for dedication and concern for implementing specific changes, but also make greater demands on the time and resources of their members than do expressive associations. This statement should be interpreted with caution, for there are bound to be associations of either kind which may not fit into these descriptive characteristics or manifest these tendencies. The complexity of urban areas may make such speculation even less useful.

Conclusions and Reflections

In conclusion, a note of caution: In interpreting the "compensation-pathological" and the "ethnic community identification" theses promulgated to explain black membership and participation in voluntary associations, one should not make the mistake of viewing them as causes. They are indeed possible explanations for the motivations underlying attempts to solve problems that are the results of circumstances in which blacks encounter restrictive practices. They explain neither the causes of these problems nor their consequences. What they reveal is that they are mechanisms through which blacks compensate for what they are denied by the larger society (in the case of the "compensation" thesis) or that they reflect the state of consciousness and awareness which made it possible for blacks to see their problems and to seek to overcome them (in the case of the "ethnic community identification" thesis).

To understand why blacks join and participate in voluntary associations one has to look at the purposes, functions, and objectives of these associations. We also have to do the same thing in order to adequately explain or account for the greater participation and membership observed among blacks than among their white counterparts. But we should not stop there. We should also examine the characteristics of the situations within which such behaviors are manifested. Such an examination would undoubtedly show that urbanization and its consequences for black life styles and experiences emerge as significant explanatory variables. Black voluntary association membership and participation are the results of black efforts to respond to urban needs and urban-based problems. They utilize the voluntary association strategy as an adaptive mechanism because the proximity and population density of the city encourage such a strategy and have made it feasible to organize large numbers of people. The magnitude of black problems in housing, employment, health, education, and political freedom was recognized by blacks in the urban area more so than by their counterparts in the rural areas. Any explanation, therefore, of black involvement in voluntary associations that does not take the factor of the urban context into consideration will be misleading.

The problem with the "compensation" thesis, in particular, is that it is couched in negative terms. Instead of seeing black involvement in voluntary associations as a compensatory effort, it should be viewed as a rational action by a people faced with discriminatory practices, economic deprivation, and moral abuse. It should be viewed positively as a rational decision to seek to overcome the restrictive conditions imposed by the larger society. The "ethnic community

identification" thesis attempts to correct this negativism, but it, too, fails to recognize that blacks became aware of their problems long before they realized that ethnic solidarity and pride could provide a meaningful tool and rationale for organizing themselves.

Black participation and membership in voluntary associations is a rational human action, and it is only when viewed in this form and in the proper context that its dynamics and implications can be properly understood, appreciated, and applied.³

³See also Kerri (1974b, 1974c) for further references on voluntary association.

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